













# *Monopoly no Nuisance.*

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A

COMPLETE DEFENCE

OF THE

**HON. EAST INDIA COMPANY,**

SHEWING THE REASONS WHY THEY ARE  
ENTITLED TO A NEW CHARTER,

IN TWO LETTERS,

TO

**ROBERT RENNY, Esq.**

*Author of the Work, entitled, "Free Trade to the  
"East Indies."*

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BY A PROPRIETOR.

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*Audite alteram partem.*

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1808.

[*Price One Shilling.*]





## REPORT, &c.

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A PLAN, which proposes to introduce the blessings of civilized society among a people sunk in ignorance and barbarism, and occupying no less than a fourth part of the habitable globe,\* holds forth an object, the contemplation of which, it will be allowed, is sufficient to warm the coldest, and fill the amplest mind.

An attempt to recommend such a scheme of beneficence by considerations addressed to the feelings, seems wholly unnecessary; since the bare conception of the design must give birth to a more lively interest than any persuasions could produce.

\* Africa is computed to contain 150 millions of inhabitants, but the interior is so little known that the estimate is purely conjectural.

But it is requisite, in order to obtain active support to any enterprize, that its object should not only be inviting, but rational, and capable of being accomplished.

Your Committee, therefore, in offering a few remarks on the general nature of this Institution, prior to a Report on the immediate subject of reference, (the Rules and Regulations proper for the constitution and government of the Society) have in view not to persuade, but to encourage; not to suggest motives but to obviate difficulties; and particularly to remove the most specious objection to our design, despair of its success.

The vastness of the object proposed by the Institution, may raise in some minds the idea of a rash and visionary project; especially when contrasted with the apparent disparity of the means which are to be employed, the efforts of a voluntary association of private individuals in this country. But it should be remembered, that the most

striking changes have often been produced in the characters and fortunes of nations, by means apparently very inadequate. There have been critical opportunities, in which the combined efforts of a few private men, or even the energies of a single mind, have sufficed to effect great revolutions in the opinions, the manners, the laws, and civil condition of a whole people, nay even of a great portion of mankind.

It is true, that such changes have been more frequently of a pernicious than salutary kind; for their authors have rarely been actuated by benignant feelings, but in general by ambition, or some other vicious passion: nor can it be denied that it is more easy, in public as well as private undertakings, to disseminate evil than good. If, however, the polished nations of the earth, when they first emerged from barbarism, had possessed historians to record the causes of that change, we should probably

discover, in some cases, that the talents or virtues of an individual (like those of a Czar Peter, or an Alfred) had suddenly imparted a new character to the institutions and manners of his country; and, in others, that intelligent strangers from a more enlightened region of the earth had produced, by their information and their practical aid, the same benign effects. In the early traditions of Greece and Italy some traces of such sources of civilization may be found: and the benefactors of nations, who were said to have descended from the skies, and were honoured as gods, are reasonably supposed to have been no other than intelligent foreigners, who first brought the useful arts of their own countries to a rude and ignorant people. A similar origin has been ascribed to the civilization which was found in some kingdoms of South America, on their first discovery by the Spaniards. If the nations of the old world had their Cadmus and Saturn, Peru

also had her Mango Capac, who instructed her once barbarous people in agriculture and the liberal arts, and whose accidental arrival from some unknown region probably gave rise to the fable of his descent from the sun.

Conquest, it must be admitted, has been the harsh and more ordinary medium by which the blessings of civilization have been conveyed from one part of the world to another ; but this has been because no other has often been attempted. Polished nations have commonly been too selfish to send the plow and the loom to any country, till they have first sent the sword and the sceptre.

Commerce, however, which, after the first introduction of civilization into any country, has contributed to its progressive improvement beyond any other cause, Christianity excepted, has rarely been first extended in any new direction by force, or by any grand and concurrent efforts. The peaceable en-



terprises of individuals, aided by encouragement less important than that which our institution may be able to impart, have often been sufficient to explore the resources, excite the industry, and call forth the commercial faculties of distant and uncivilized nations. Let it not be supposed then that our association is chargeable with aiming at ends too vast, or too difficult for human efforts to accomplish. If we propose any thing more arduous than has often been effected before, it must be because it is more easy to do good by accident than by design; from the impulse of selfish than of benevolent feelings.

The immense extent of the field before us ought indeed rather to animate than to damp our efforts; for in the communication of knowledge,—of such practical knowledge at least as is of universal interest, and within the reach of every capacity—the difficulty is chiefly found in the first stage of the process. Like a hardy exotic in a kindred soil, it may

be speedily propagated on the largest scale, when once brought to flourish on the smallest.—Every pupil soon becomes a teacher; every successful example adds to the number of imitators; and though the field of exertion be originally small, the ultimate benefit will be proportioned to the extent of the sphere through which the knowledge thus communicated may be at last diffused.

When it was discovered, a very few years ago, that there is among the secrets of nature a sure and simple, though wonderful preventive, of one of the most fatal and loathsome diseases to which the human frame is subject, it was a work of no small difficulty to establish the credit of the discovery, and bring it into use, even in this enlightened metropolis. Yet already the practice of vaccination is known to the most distant nations of the earth; and it is probable that there will soon be no civilized

people in the world, by whom it will not be generally adopted.

This example, in another view also, may afford us encouragement : for by what means has a discovery so important to mankind been so widely and speedily imparted to distant nations, but by the efforts of private benevolence, aided by a voluntary association of individuals, in this country ? Prejudice and incredulity resisted its progress as stubbornly perhaps as they may resist improvement in Africa ; and the secret, though known in a western county, might never have been heard of even in London, if its propagation, instead of being assisted by the active and combined endeavours of a great society, had been left to accident, or to the comparatively inefficient efforts of individual benevolence.

Was Dr. Jenner's discovery one, the value of which might be demonstrated by experi-

ment, and brought home to the senses, as well as to the self-love of mankind? The same may be said of those arts and that knowledge which we hope to send into Africa, and which, by giving a right impulse to industry, and some culture to the human mind, must produce benefits of a kind, to be understood and felt even by rude barbarians.

Objections more specious, however, may perhaps be opposed to us than the extent of the good at which we aim, when contrasted with the apparent feebleness of our probable means.

The people amongst whom we would endeavour to introduce the blessings of civilized life are a race very distinct in bodily appearance from all others; and are represented by many, as ~~not~~ less distinguished from the rest of mankind by the inferiority of their intellectual powers, and by their moral depravity.

“ Upon them” it is alleged “ the sun of science might for ever beam in vain; and even the humble arts, which form the exterior comforts of civilized man, would in vain be offered to these coarse and fierce barbarians. They are fit only for the yoke of a laborious and endless bondage.”

But before we admit the justice of a representation so degrading to the character of the negro race, it will be proper to enquire who are their accusers, and what is the evidence on which such charges are founded.

The portrait of the negro has seldom been drawn but by the pencil of his oppressor, and he has sat for it in the distorted attitude of slavery. That there have been found in him such vices as in all ages and countries have been the fruit of private bondage, need not be denied: but that these have been much exaggerated by prejudice and contempt, and still more by policy and party spirit, is no less certain.

While the Aborigines of the West Indies were sinking under the oppression of the Spaniards, they were described by those adventurers as cannibals and monsters ; and the Court of Castile gave implicit credit to such calumnies, till it was disabused, when too late, by the humane efforts of Las Casas. The African also is oppressed in the new world, and vilified in the old. His oppressors, like those of the Indians, were at length accused at the bar of their country ; and recrimination was the expedient to which some of them resorted, in order to vindicate their conduct. They have denied that the Negro possesses either the feelings, or the moral or intellectual capacity of a human being.

Yet here their testimony has proved to be not a little discordant ; so that with a moderate allowance for the ordinary effects of oppression, the character of the Negro might be vindicated by the admissions or inconsistencies of his enemies.

If he be accused of brutal stupidity by one of these prejudiced witnesses ; another, or perhaps the same, taxes him with the most refined dissimulation, and the most ingenious methods of deceit. If the negroes are represented as base and cowardly ; they are, in the same volume, exhibited as braving death in its most hideous forms, with more than human fortitude. Insensibility and excessive passion, apathy and enthusiasm, want of natural affection and a fond attachment to their friends, shipmates, and countrymen, are all ascribed to them by the same inconsistent pens. We are told, by almost every colonial writer, that severe coercion is necessary to quicken them to action ; yet some of those authorities, and among them the most celebrated advocate of Negro slavery in France, ascribe to them an almost preternatural energy. After working for twenty-four hours without remission, they will, according to the last mentioned writer, voluntarily

travel two or three leagues, spend the whole night in dancing and revelling, and return by day-break to take their share in the most arduous labours of the crop, without any intermediate repose. They will, he assures us, pass an entire week without sleep, and yet go through their accustomed toil with their usual vigour. In short he describes them as possessing bodily qualities far superior to those of other men, and states it as a strong argument for effecting a counter revolution in St. Domingo, that if to such physical powers intellectual culture were added, the Negroes might conquer the world.\*

But we might appeal also to other hostile testimony which is less inconsistent with itself; for some Colonial writers, amidst their zeal for slavery and the Slave Trade, have occasionally aspired to the praise of candour in regard to the moral character of the

\* Barrè de St. Venant, p. 379—380.



Slaves, and have expressly repelled some of the accusations which have been adduced by other writers of the same party. The ingenuity of the Negroes is admitted or defended by one eminent authority, their gratitude by another, their parental and filial affection by a third, their humanity by a fourth, their docility and improvement under religious instruction, by all who have treated on this subject.

Your Committee are unwilling to swell their Report by extracts in proof of these remarks ; but they beg to refer to Mr. Bryan Edwards, to M. Malouet, to Dr. Fermin, and to a highly intelligent work published in London in 1803, intituled, "Practical Rules for the management and medical treatment of Negro Slaves in the Sugar Colonies." The author has only designated himself as a Professional Planter, but the work is generally ascribed to the late Dr. Collins, of St. Vincent, a celebrated apologist of the Slave Trade.

Some positive praise has also been given to this injured race, in respect of which there is no contrariety of evidence. It is noticed for instance, by Mr. Edwards, and several other writers, that the old Negroes are universally treated by the young with singular tenderness and respect. Nor ought a trait like this to be deemed of small account, when we find it adduced by the first moralists of antiquity, as indicating an extraordinary degree of virtue.

If any consistency can be found among the apologists of Colonial slavery, in their charges against the Negroes, it is in ascribing to them the characteristic vice of falsehood. But this, like some other abject qualities, is uniformly the effect of private bondage; and we are so far from finding reason to believe that it peculiarly distinguishes the native African character, that there is good evidence of the very reverse. "One of the first lessons," (says Mr. Park in his travels)

“ in which, the Mandingo women instruct their children, is the practice of truth. The reader (he adds) will probably recollect the case of the unhappy mother, whose son was murdered by the Moorish banditti. Her only consolation in her utmost distress was, that the poor boy in the course of his blameless life had never told a lie.” \*

That Colonial slavery has generated most of those vices which are alleged in its excuse, was felt, and is distinctly admitted, by Mr. Edwards; and this is a fact which he was very competent to ascertain; for he had seen multitudes of newly imported Africans; had, as he himself informs us, many of them under his own management; and he appears to have taken pains to study their character.

It should be added that the vicious qualities of the Colonial Negro, as far as they really exist, are weeds which neither religious

\* Park's Travels into the Interior of Africa, p. 264.

nor moral culture has been employed to pluck up. They are the growth, not merely of bondage, but of ignorance; and of ignorance, grosser perhaps than has ever existed elsewhere among the inhabitants of a civilized land: for it is not pretended that the West Indian Slave, from his birth or importation to his grave, receives from his master any education whatsoever, or possesses in general the means of acquiring any religious knowledge.

The charitable zeal of some religious societies in this country has indeed, of late years, supplied our Islands with a few Missionaries, by whom a small part of the Slaves have been instructed in the elements of Christianity, and provided with some means of public worship. And wherever this has been the case, a striking improvement of morals has followed. It has been publicly admitted by the Planters, and even by the legislative assemblies, of the Leeward Islands,

where alone the experiment has been fairly made, that the vices of their Slaves have disappeared, in proportion as they have been enabled to understand, and induced to embrace, the Christian religion.

If therefore the vices in question were inherent in the African character, and not the effects of oppression, still they would present no just ground of discouragement, but rather a new motive for perseverance: for they would be evils which our charitable aid might contribute to remove.

It is true that the plan of this institution does not embrace the propagation of Christianity, by any efforts of our own. That blessing may be best communicated to Africa by the societies which are already engaged in religious missions, or may hereafter embark in them. But in improving the temporal condition of the Natives, we shall greatly facilitate their conversion, and without interfering with any of the missions,

shall indirectly, and in a variety of ways, be serviceable to them all.

The moral quality most obviously important to our views, and in which Africans in their native country are alleged to be grossly deficient, is *industry*; and, doubtless, if we were to judge by what appears on the African *Coast* alone, and without any allowance for the necessary effects of the Slave Trade, the charge would be specious.

Indolence, it must be admitted, is a common characteristic of all uncivilized people; and therefore if this imputation, supposing it true, were a conclusive argument against attempting to convey to Africa those useful arts which cannot subsist without labour, it would apply to every similar attempt in every part of the globe. It would be conclusive against the endeavour at any time or place, or in any mode, to improve the condition of any part of our species. Nay, it would become an inexplicable paradox

how men who were once in a barbarous state, like our ancestors, should ever have been raised from it. But indolence is a disease which it is the business of civilization to cure. The motives and the means of industry must be supplied, before men can begin to be industrious. This argument, therefore, against our present undertaking is like making it an objection to the visit of a physician, that the patient is sick.

Waving for a while that too adequate explanation of the indolence observable on the coast, which the long prevalence of the Slave-Trade furnishes, it may still be asked what room there is for the notion, that it is greater, or less remediable, than the same bad quality in other countries, where its correction is matter of recent history, or contemporary example? Perhaps even within his Majesty's European dominions, in Ireland, or the Highlands of Scotland, cases might be pointed out of equal indolence, proceeding

from the same obvious causes, want of knowledge, want of means, and want of excitement to be industrious.

In the Northern parts of Europe we are told, by intelligent travellers, of deserts turned into gardens, and slothful savages into husbandmen and artizans, within our own days; and this by the mere efforts of individual landholders. Their only means, it is added, were such necessary instruction to their tenants or bondmen, and such slight but judicious encouragements, as their ancestors had been too selfish or too unreflecting to bestow.

But if we look to North America, there, at least, we shall find a people, to whom might have been speciously ascribed, even at a very recent period, invincible sloth, and irreclaimable vagrancy of manners. We have been long taught to regard the North American Indian as so strongly addicted to his native habits, and so averse to labour,



as to be absolutely incorrigible by precept, by example, or even by his own experience of the blessings of civilization, when brought for a while to taste them. But some well-directed efforts of that truly respectable body of Christians, the Quakers, have at length vindicated the Indian character from this reproach, and shewn that their long-continued barbarism has, since they were placed within the reach of Europeans, been chargeable less on their own indolence or prejudices, than on those of their civilized neighbours.

By methods which cannot now be detailed, but which may well merit future attention, several tribes of Indians bordering on the United States have been brought to exchange their hunting occupations for an agricultural life, to renounce many of the vices with which they were before chargeable, and even that to which they had been excessively addicted, and which it has been

deemed most difficult to give up, the immoderate use of spirituous liquors; and to learn several of those useful arts to which they had before been utter strangers.

The experience of several years has already shewn, that this is no transient reformation. Instead of depending on the chace for a precarious subsistence, these Indians now cultivate extensive corn-fields, and raise herds of cattle. Instead of their miserable huts, they are now possessed of neat and commodious dwellings. Plenty has succeeded to want; sobriety to drunkenness; and regularity to disorder. The enjoyments and feelings of family life have begun at once to reward and to secure these improvements. The females are released from that unnatural share of toil to which they were formerly subjected, and begin to take their proper station:—they are advancing in those arts of domestic industry in which they are best employed, and though not less active

or useful than before, are no longer disabled, from rearing their offspring by severity of labour and the hardships of a vagrant life. It therefore seems scarcely necessary to state, that population is already on the increase.\*

Your Committee has the pleasure to add, that the government of the United States, convinced by experience of the value of this reformation, has lately granted a considerable sum from the public purse for its further extension; and the application of this aid has been wisely committed to the same benevolent society which has so judiciously led the way in this interesting work. Can there be a more striking proof that such enterprises as our own are not impracticable; and that private associations, founded on a benevolent principle, are the best instruments in the prosecution of them?

If, notwithstanding the civilization of the

\* See Accounts of two attempts towards the Civilization of some Indian natives. Phillips.

Indians, further difficulties should be raised on the ground of the supposed indolence and indocility of the Negroes ; some fair evidence ought to be produced of the existence of those bad qualities, except when there is no adequate motive, or reasonable excitement to industry.

It has indeed been imputed to them, that, when in a state of freedom in our Colonies, they are never known to work in the field or in any other laborious occupation. This fact has been repeatedly adduced as an argument for the necessity of Slavery and the Slave-Trade : but the argument is quite fallacious, and can impose on those only who are utterly unacquainted with colonial affairs. The truth is, that the free Negroes and Mulattoes in the West Indies do not often work in husbandry or other coarse kinds of labour, because such occupations, being the ordinary business of Slaves, are not only disreputable, but far less profitable than

others, in which every free workman may find full employment. There no Negro obtains his freedom but by means of faculties superior to that of throwing the hoe, or carrying a burthen; and hardly any Negro, born to freedom, is uninstructed in some trade or profession far more lucrative than ordinary labour, unless, which rarely happens, he is rich enough to live without any exertion of his own industry. The argument therefore is just as fair, as if the indolence of Englishmen were to be inferred from the fact, that our gentry and citizens do not follow the plough.

As to the indolence which is seen on the Coast of Africa, the Slave Trade is its obvious cause. How can it be expected that men should addict themselves to the arts of agriculture and commerce, whilst the labourers in both are themselves the great articles of trade, and form the chief exports of the country? What adequate motive can be found for

TO THE HONOURABLE  
THE CHAIRMAN AND DIRECTORS  
OF THE  
*EAST INDIA COMPANY,*

THE FOLLOWING DEFENCE  
OF  
THEIR CHARTERED RIGHTS

IS DEDICATED,  
WITH ALL POSSIBLE RESPECT,  
BY THEIR VERY HUMBLE SERVANT

**A PROPRIETOR.**

*London, April 4th, 1808.*



# PREFACE.

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Nothing tends more to advance the interests of truth, than a candid but anxious investigation. Bad indeed must that cause be which is unable to stand the test of strict enquiry. Governments or individuals, conscious of injustice, always detest, frequently oppress, and generally execrate, all those who are penetrating enough to perceive their misconduct, and bold enough to arraign and condemn it. A man or a state, on the other hand, confident of good intentions and irreproachable conduct, instead of shrinking from, courts enquiry—instead of remaining skreened from public view, holds up, with modesty, but with confidence, an unblushing front to the world.

These general observations being undoubtedly applicable to the present situation of the Honourable East India Company, the Writer of the following Letters expected that, long ere now, the Directors, or others concerned in the prosperity of that



respectable body, would have come forward and explicitly refuted the assertions which were publicly made, and very generally circulated, to their disadvantage. By some strange and unaccountable, perhaps reprehensible, neglect, they have not yet thought proper to do so. All that remained for a friend of truth to do, and one anxious to support the Company, as far as a regard for truth would permit, was, to publish his opinions on the subject, and the reasons on which those opinions were founded. This he has done, perhaps, with little ability, but he is certain with the purest intentions. And he is not without hope, that his object in now expressing his sentiments to the public will be gained, for he wishes nothing more heartily, than that the interests of his country may be promoted by his exertions.

TO

**ROBERT RENNY, Esq.**

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SIR,

LIKE many others, I have read with attention your work, entitled, "A Demonstration of the Necessity and Advantages of Free Trade to the East Indies, and of a Termination to the present Monopoly of the East India Company." The manner in which it is written, I freely confess, does you considerable honour, and the sentiments contained in it would not disgrace any man. I will even allow that your intentions were good, and that, to use your own language, you conceived, "that you deserved well of your Country in proposing to its consideration, a subject of such general and serious importance." But here I must stop. The tendency of your performance is, in my opinion, of a most dangerous nature. It tends to excite internal dissention and discontent.

It throws a very unmerited odium on a rich, powerful, and highly useful Corporation, by whose exertions the country has been enriched, individuals aggrandized, and the empire strengthened and extended.

Such being the case, I think it incumbent on every friend of social order and regular society, to controvert the opinions contained in your work, and I shall now proceed, Sir, clearly and convincingly to refute them, with intentions at least, equally good with your own. And if I am fortunate enough to appease some of that discontent which your work has excited, my intentions will be fully and happily accomplished.

The introductory and historical parts of your performance, which by the bye, occupy nearly two-thirds of the volume, I have no great objection to. You, however, detail with a seeming pleasure, the former misconduct, tyranny, and bribery of the Company. The facts you have adduced, I by no means intend to controvert; they are related fairly, and I believe with impartiality. But what do they

toiling to improve their domestic comforts, or their possessions, by men who are in constant danger of being hurried into perpetual exile ?

Security of person and property must ever prepare the way for advances in the gainful arts of industry ; and after all, these are rarely cultivated in a high degree; without the stimulus of that necessity which an increasing population creates. There could be no surer expedient to subdue the active spirit of mankind, and to perpetuate their indolence and barbarism, than a trade which at once thins the population of a country, and breaks down every barrier of private right or personal safety.

It is needless to take into account the many vices adverse to industry which are generated by this traffic : for it is enough to keep men indolent that no fruit of their labour can be secure to them for a moment.

That the indolence of the Africans in their

native land is by no means an incurable defect, might however be shewn by other and positive arguments. We learn from all those travellers who have lately explored the interior of Africa, that there already exists, in districts remote from the coast, a considerable degree of industry; and that no small progress has been made in several of the useful arts. It is also observable, that though these gentlemen travelled in various directions, and from points of that continent widely remote from each other, they all found the same striking contrast between the interior and the coast.

There is reason therefore to conclude, that the indolence and barbarism of the Africans universally diminish as you recede from the coast towards the centre: or in other words as their distance from the immediate sphere of European commerce is increased. It may be true that the Slave Trade pervades, in some degree, the whole continent:

but its activity and extent are inversely as the distance from the sea, while industry and civilization are found to prevail in an opposite ratio. The conclusion is not less important, than it is opprobrious to the European character.

Your Committee must again abstain from lengthening their Report by many extracts in proof of the facts alleged; but refer generally to the travels of Mr. Park, Mr. Barrow, and Mr. Golbery. They refer also to Captain Beaver for much conclusive evidence as to the disposition of the natives of Africa to work, when properly encouraged.

The following extracts from Mr. Park, however, are so comprehensive and direct, that they seem to merit insertion. "The Negroes in general," says Mr. Park, "and the Mandingoes in particular are considered by the whites on the coast as an indolent and inactive people; I think, without reason. The nature of the climate is, indeed, unfavourable to industry."

vourable to great exertion; but surely a people cannot justly be denominated habitually indolent, whose wants are supplied, not by the spontaneous productions of nature, but by their own exertions. Few people work harder, when occasion requires, than the Mandingoes; but not having many opportunities of turning to advantage the superfluous produce of their labour, they are content with cultivating as much ground only, as is necessary for their own support. The labours of the field give them pretty full employment during the rains: and in the dry season, the people who live in the vicinity of large rivers, employ themselves chiefly in fishing.” \*

He adds that while the men are thus occupied, the women are very diligent in manufacturing cotton cloth, the quality of which he describes as very good, and their manner of dyeing it as excellent.

\*Travels in Africa, Chap. xxi.

He afterwards enumerates manufactories of leather, iron, and other commodities, in which the Negroes have arrived at considerable skill, though with very imperfect implements.

But your Committee will add one more extract from the same writer, which furnishes strong matter of excitement to such benevolent attempts as we have associated to recommend and promote.

“ It appears” (observes Mr. Park in summing up his account of the trade of Africa) “ that slaves, gold, and ivory, together with the few articles enumerated in the beginning of my work, viz. bees-wax and honey, hides, gums, and dye woods, constitute the whole catalogue of exportable commodities. Other productions, however, have been incidentally noticed as the growth of Africa, such as grain of different kinds, tobacco, indigo, cotton wool, and perhaps a few others; but of all these (which can only be obtained by cultivation and labour) the natives raise



sufficient only for their own immediate use ; nor, under the present system of their laws, manners, trade, and government, can any thing farther be expected from them. It cannot, however, admit of a doubt, that all the rich and valuable productions, both of the East and West Indies, might easily be naturalized and brought to the utmost perfection in the tropical parts of this immense continent. *Nothing is wanting to this end but example to enlighten the minds of the natives ; and instruction to enable them to direct their industry to proper objects.* It was not possible for me to behold the wonderful fertility of the soil, the vast herds of cattle, proper both for labour and food, and a variety of other circumstances favourable to colonization and agriculture ; and reflect, withal, on the means which presented themselves of a vast inland navigation ; without lamenting, that a country, so abundantly gifted and favoured by nature,

should remain in its present savage and neglected state. Much more did I lament, that a people, *of manners and dispositions so gentle and benevolent*, should either be left, as they now are, immersed in the gross and uncomfortable blindness of pagan superstition, or permitted to become converts to a system of bigotry and fanaticism; which, without enlightening the mind, often debases the heart.”\*

Your Committee will now advert to another source of prejudice against our design, which is too important to be omitted. It is frequently alleged and believed, that an experiment to spread civilization in Africa has already been fairly made, and has completely failed, in the case of the Colony of Sierra Leone. But the assertion is untrue in both its parts. The experiment has not been fairly made; and as far as any attempts to lay a basis for the future civilization of Africa by

\* Parke's Travels, Chap. xxiii.

means of that Colony have really been made, they have not been unsuccessful.

It is not the intention of your Committee to enter on a full explanation of the original plan of the Sierra Leone Company, of the unforeseen and calamitous events which opposed its successful execution, of the objects which have nevertheless been attained by it, or of the circumstances which have lately induced the Company to surrender to his Majesty the territory which they had acquired and settled, together with the public property and civil authorities which they possessed. Full satisfaction on all these points may be obtained from the printed Reports of the Company, and other public documents.

But your Committee will venture to affirm, that whatever disappointment the Proprietors of the Sierra Leone Company may have experienced, there is nothing in the history of that Company of a kind to dis-

courage the efforts of the African Institution. If commercial gains were expected by any of the Proprietors, their object has certainly been lost: even the capital itself has been sunk without having yielded any interest to the subscribers. But these losses have not been incurred through an attempt to civilize Africa by means like those which this Institution proposes to employ.—It is no part of our plan to purchase territory in Africa, to found a colony, or even to carry on commerce.

Neither has the bad success of this Company arisen from any causes which evince an intractability in the African character, or any other fixed obstacle to our designs. It is sufficiently accounted for by the failure of those just expectations which led to its formation. This Company was instituted in 1791, when the Abolition of the Slave Trade, now at length happily accomplished, was not without reason regarded as an event near at

hand. The Company calculated on being delivered from the rivalry of that traffic, almost as soon as a beneficial substitute for it could be offered to Africa : instead of which, that bane of industry and innocent commerce was permitted to outlive their means of competition with it. They even in vain solicited Parliament to banish it from that almost depopulated region of Africa, in which their settlement was formed. English Slave traders were permitted to the last to frequent the same coast, to trade even in the river of Sierra Leone, and by their offers of European goods, which they furnish upon credit, to preserve their connection and influence with the neighbouring chiefs. Those unfortunate Africans were therefore easily diverted from improvements, to which the Sierra Leone Company would have led them ; and they were at length even persuaded to regard with jealousy and ill-will the benevolent strangers whom they at first received with favor.

The unprecedented political events which soon followed the establishment of the Company might also alone account for its ill fortune. No one could have foreseen in 1791 that a maritime war would so soon have enlarged the expences, and checked the growth of the infant colony ; much less that it would, like the Slave Trade, have continued its ruinous opposition during fourteen years.\* Sierra Leone, be it remembered, was exposed to all the calamities and disadvantages of war, during the whole term of its occupation by the Company, except for an interval too short to afford any experience of its capacities in time of peace.

It ought not however to be dissembled that in the original design itself there was much improvidence, and such as even under

\* It will be remembered that in May, 1792, Mr. PITT declared, that though it was impossible to speak with certainty on such a subject, there perhaps had never been a period in the history of this country when we might look with more confidence to the continuance of peace.

less inauspicious circumstances might have defeated its object.

In attempting to found a new Colony, which, if successful, was to give to this country great commercial advantages, the Company took upon itself the whole charge of the civil government, of the public works, and of the military defence of the settlement. At the same time no part of the possible profits was secured exclusively to itself. If the richest channels of commerce had been eventually opened at Sierra Leone, every one of his Majesty's subjects would have had the same right to trade there as the Company or its members. No monopoly, no commercial privilege, was obtained or asked.

In the case that has arisen, the want of such a consideration for the liberal undertaking of the Company, may have been of little importance to its interests: but that undertaking was without any precedent in modern times, and its singular liberality

might alone furnish an adequate reason for its failure.

In no other part of the world, since the value of colonial commerce and the expence of colonial establishments have been known, have men associated to settle in an uncivilized country upon terms like these. The mother country, sure of reaping the fruits of their success, has commonly undertaken the charge of their government and protection; and it may be added that this charge has borne no small proportion to the early value of even the most prosperous Colony.

Let, for instance, an enquiry be made, what was the charge of civil government, what the cost of fortifications, of military garrisons, and of the various other public services connected with the settlement of Dominica and St. Vincent, and it would probably appear that more than the whole amount of the capital of the Sierra Leone Company was



sunk by the public in each of those islands, after their cession by France in 1763, before they were made in any degree valuable to this country. But in Sierra Leone, all these expences were borne by the Company, till it could defray them no longer ; and when the Colony was totally laid waste in the last war by invasion, the Company sustained the whole cost of its restitution. The assistance since received from Parliament has come too late to save the stock of the Proprietors, though it may possibly be the source of much future benefit to the nation.

When these circumstances are considered, even if we admit that the undertaking of the Company, regarded as a mere commercial enterprise, has failed, we may yet safely affirm that its failure has been less discouraging than that of the first settlers in the most valuable of our colonial possessions. It is notorious that, in the ceded islands before adverted to, though now, or lately,

in a state of high prosperity, almost every private capital, that was at first embarked in their cultivation, was lost to the adventurers. So extensive was the ruin that the very easy purchase-money of lands reserved to the government, though forming the first lien upon them, remained for the most part unpaid; and Mr. Edwards questions whether a shilling of the nominal sales ever found its way into the treasury.

This is, in truth, from known causes, the ordinary case with new Colonies. It has been proverbial that the first settlers generally fail, though their successors rise on their ruins: and if such is the fate of adventurers in the fertile, well known, and well defended field of our own Sugar Colonies, where they have few or no public establishments to maintain; it would surely be unjust to regard the losses of the Sierra Leone Company, under the peculiar circumstances which have been noticed, as a proof that coloniza-

tion in Africa can never be carried on to advantage.

Your Committee however would again remark, that supposing such an opinion to be well founded, it has no relevancy to the objects of the African Institution ; for we mean not to colonize in Africa, or to trade there on our own account, but only to assist and give a right direction to the enterprize of others, and to excite the industry of the natives of that continent. And in these respects, the experience of the Sierra Leone Company presents to us nothing but encouragement. The possibility of introducing agriculture, innocent commerce, and other means of civilization into Africa, if it could reasonably have been doubted before, is established by what that Company has actually effected, notwithstanding what it has failed to accomplish. It has shewn that not only provisions, but the various articles of export which we now bring from the West Indies, may be

raised on the African coast. It has demonstrated that Negroes in a state of freedom may be induced to labour in the field. It has proved that the Native Chiefs may be made to understand such views as our Institution wishes to impress upon them. And above all it has shewn, that the grand obstacle to their heartily embracing those views has been the continuance of the Slave Trade.

The Colony of Sierra Leone can also attest, that free Negroes are capable of being governed by mild laws, and require neither whips nor chains to enforce their submission to civil authority. If a spirit of insubordination appeared for a time in that Colony, it was under circumstances which would in more polished societies have produced much stronger effects. The government was long destitute even of any lawful authority to punish crimes, and never possessed a military force which could overawe the turbulent. Yet if the course of events at Sierra

Leone be compared with the conduct of the first European settlers in the Antilles and on the American continent, whether English, French, or Spaniards, the result will be highly advantageous to the African character.

Nor has the Sierra Leone Company furnished us with matter of encouragement alone, but also with highly important means for the execution of our purposes. In their Colony, now about to be taken under the immediate care of government, there is a basis upon which we may proceed at once to build. In that central part of the great African Continent, schools may be maintained, useful arts may be taught, and an emporium of commerce be established, by those whom our patronage may animate, or our information enable, to engage in such undertakings. There, native agents may be found, and the African languages acquired. From thence, travellers may diverge on their journeys of discovery, and there the scattered rays of

information from the interior may be collected. Nor is it a small advance towards our ultimate purpose to have a secure and convenient station already provided on the Coast, with copious means both of defence and subsistence.

But a still higher advantage, derived from the labours of the Sierra Leone Company is, that the principles upon which we proceed, and the objects which we aim to accomplish, will not, in that important part of Africa, excite either surprize or distrust.

The greatest of all obstacles perhaps to the civilization of the natives of Africa by European means, would be the diffidence in our intentions which they might reasonably entertain. A poor negro might well conceive that a white man could have no other design, in courting his acquaintance, than to make a slave of him, and carry him from the coast. But the experience of fifteen years has now convinced the inhabitants of at least that part

of the Continent which is in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, that benevolence and good faith may really reside under a white complexion ; that there are Englishmen who abhor the Slave Trade, and who, far from kidnapping the merchant or labourer who puts himself in their power, desire nothing but his improvement and happiness.

Nor can it be supposed that the knowledge of this surprizing fact is confined to the immediate vicinity of Sierra Leone. Its novelty has no doubt caused it to be known in more distant countries ; so that Englishmen who may now solicit a commercial intercourse, even with a people of a country considerably remote from that settlement, may gain credit for their real purpose, and not be suspected of meditating violence and fraud under the mask of fair professions.

It is probable that no experience, much short of that term which has elapsed since the settlement of Sierra Leone, would have

sufficed to produce this consequence ; and the progress of conviction may have been aided even by the perseverance of the Company under its misfortunes.

Your Committee, when it adds this last important advantage to the rest, is inclined to hope, that the losses of the Company may yet be largely compensated to the feelings of the Proprietors, by the permanent good effects of their labours. They have laid, it may be hoped, a deep and necessary foundation, which the wisdom of Government and Parliament will preserve, and on which, when the Slave-Trade ceases, the benevolence and the commercial industry of individuals will find it easy to build.

The only remaining objection which your Committee can anticipate, is the seeming inadequacy of the means which we can expect to possess and employ.

As we neither propose to colonize, nor to trade on our own account, how, it may be



asked, can we materially contribute to the civilization of Africa ?

We answer, by the same means, in part, which are found necessary or useful for the promotion of agriculture, and for the encouragement of useful arts, or other patriotic and benevolent improvements, even in this enlightened country. We shall endeavour indeed to diffuse knowledge and to excite industry in Africa, by methods adapted to the peculiar situation and manners of the inhabitants. We trust to be able in various ways to promote an acquaintance with letters, and with the agricultural and mechanical arts, on different parts of the coast. We hope also to find enterprising and intelligent men, who will explore the interior, not merely to gratify curiosity, but to obtain and disseminate useful knowledge, and to open sources of future intercourse. But information must also be diffused, and the spirit of commercial enterprise excited at home, in order that

individuals may be prompted by self-interest to aid us in the most effectual manner. And why, it may reasonably be asked, should the efforts of a respectable association be less efficacious in this part of our plan, than in other cases of a similar kind? If even in Great Britain, we have societies to suggest, patronize, and recommend improvements in agriculture; to foster the arts and sciences; to encourage our fisheries; and to promote other national objects; why should not a society to encourage African agriculture and African commerce, be equally useful and necessary?

What are the means employed by those various societies which we cannot with propriety adopt? To collect and circulate information respecting the commercial faculties of Africa, for instance, cannot be less conducive to the advancement of commerce with that country, than the publication of agricultural intelligence or of useful discoveries is to the im-

provement of our English husbandry, arts, and manufactures: and medals or honorary bounties may excite a competition in the importation from Africa of gum, ivory, dye-woods, indigo, or cotton, as well as in the planting of oaks, the catching of fish, or the breeding of cattle.

The utility of such a society is likely to be peculiarly great in the present case, on account of those very misapprehensions which your Committee have endeavoured to obviate.

When prejudice represents any new attempt as chimerical and extravagant, the enterprise of individuals may be unreasonably checked by the dread of ridicule or censure. Now what is more likely to remove this probable obstacle to experiments of the kind that have been alluded to, than the sanction and countenance of a numerous and highly respectable society, comprising in its body some of the most exalted characters in the kingdom?

Your Committee however will not attempt to enumerate the various ways in which our Institution may best promote the great ends for which it is formed. To obviate objections, a few of them have been instanced; but the extent and specific nature of our practical measures must be matter of future and deliberate discussion, by those whom the society may appoint to manage its affairs: and they must obviously in part depend on the extent of those pecuniary funds which we may be able to acquire.

Your Committee, having thus endeavoured to do away such objections as might prejudice our infant Institution, think it necessary to advert to only one argument of a positive kind in its favour, and that is the peculiar advantages for such an undertaking which the present moment affords.

The Slave Trade, among the innumerable evils of which it was the proximate or remote cause, produced, it must be allowed.

the effect of exciting, to a certain degree, a commercial spirit, and a taste for the produce and manufactures of distant countries, in the inhabitants of Africa. The British part of this Trade has at length been abolished, and will shortly terminate upon the Coast. That which has been carried on by America will cease about the same time. Denmark has also extricated herself from the guilt and disgrace of this commerce. France, Spain, and Holland are effectually precluded by the war from taking any share in it; and no other European nation, Portugal excepted, has ever been engaged in carrying it on. After the close of the present year, therefore, the Portuguese Slave Trade alone will remain to oppose or obstruct any efforts which may be made for the improvement of Africa. The privations to which the inhabitants of that Continent will thus be subjected are of themselves calculated to give a great impulse to their en-

terprize and exertion ; and there is good reason to hope that many of the more intelligent chiefs will anxiously avail themselves of any practicable means which may be presented to them, for obtaining those European articles to which they have been hitherto accustomed. At such a moment, how much may be effected by an Institution prepared to furnish, what that intelligent traveller, Mr. Parke, states to be alone wanting to the improvement of this quarter of the globe ; “ example to enlighten the minds of the natives, and instruction to enable them to direct their industry to proper objects ? ”

Nor ought we to overlook the benefits which this country is likely to derive from such a development of the faculties of the African Continent. While that gigantic power at the feet of which the Continent of Europe now lies prostrate, is employing his utmost efforts to prevent our commerce from flowing in its ancient channels, surely it be-

comes us to cherish every reasonable prospect of finding other outlets. We have achieved a great and splendid act of national justice in abolishing the Slave Trade. The chain which bound Africa to the dust, and prevented the success of every effort that was made to raise her, is now broken. Let our benevolence interpose to repair the ruin and degradation which we have contributed to bring upon her, and to teach her the use of her liberated faculties; and we may soon discover, by our own happy experience, that in exercising justice and benevolence towards her, whatever may be the apparent sacrifice, we have only been laying a more solid foundation for the enlargement of our own national prosperity.

The Committee will now proceed to submit to the Meeting the plan which seems to them best adapted for the interior Constitution and Government of the Society. To this they have deemed it proper to prefix a Sum-

mary of the grand objects, to promote which we have associated, as declared at the last General Meeting; with some practical suggestions, as to the general nature of those means which it may be expedient to employ.





# RULES AND REGULATIONS, &c.

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## CHAPTER I.

### *Objects of the Institution.*

THE general objects of the Institution are expressed in the following Resolutions adopted at the first meeting of this Society, on the 14th of April, 1807, viz.

1. That this Meeting is deeply impressed with a sense of the enormous wrongs which the natives of Africa have suffered in their intercourse with Europe ; and from a desire to repair those wrongs, as well as from general feelings of benevolence, is anxious to adopt such measures as are best calculated to promote their civilization and happiness.

2. That the approaching cessation of the Slave Trade hitherto carried on by Great Britain, America, and Denmark, will, in a considerable degree, remove the barrier which has so long obstructed the natural course of social improvement in Africa; and that the way will be thereby opened for introducing the comforts and arts of a more civilized state of society.

3. That the happiest effects may be reasonably anticipated from diffusing useful knowledge, and exciting industry among the inhabitants of Africa, and from obtaining and circulating throughout this Country more ample and authentic information concerning the agricultural and commercial faculties of that vast Continent; and that through the judicious prosecution of these benevolent endeavours, we may ultimately look forward to the establishment, in the room of that traffic, by which Africa has been so long degraded, of a legitimate

and far more extended commerce, beneficial alike to the natives of Africa and to the manufacturers of Great Britain and Ireland.

4. That the present period is eminently fitted for prosecuting these benevolent designs; since the suspension, during the war, of that large share of the Slave Trade, which has commonly been carried on by France, Spain, and Holland, will, when combined with the effect of the Abolition Laws of Great Britain, America, and Denmark, produce nearly the entire cessation of that traffic along a line of coast extending between two and three thousand miles in length, and thereby afford a peculiarly favourable opportunity for giving a new direction to the industry and commerce of Africa.

5. That for these purposes a Society be immediately formed, to be called

**THE AFRICAN INSTITUTION.**

## CHAPTER II.

### *Means of effecting the objects of the Institution.*

TO prevent misconception concerning the views and measures of the African Institution, it may be proper in the very first instance to declare, that it is the Society's fixed determination not to undertake any religious missions, and not to engage in commercial speculations. The Society is aware that there already exist several most respectable Institutions formed for the diffusion of Christianity, and means not to encroach on their province. It may also be proper to premise, that it will naturally become the duty and care of this Society, to watch over the execution of the laws, recently enacted in this and other countries, for abolishing the African Slave Trade; to endeavour to prevent the infraction of those

laws; and from time to time to suggest any means by which they may be rendered more effectual to their objects; and likewise to endeavour, by communicating information, and by other appropriate methods, to promote the Abolition of the African Slave Trade by Foreign powers.

The means which it is proposed to employ for the purpose of promoting civilization and improvement in Africa are of the following kind.

1. To collect and diffuse, throughout this country, accurate information respecting the natural productions of Africa, and, in general, respecting the agricultural and commercial capacities of the African Continent, and the intellectual, moral, and political condition of its inhabitants.

2. To promote the instruction of the Africans in letters and in useful knowledge, and to cultivate a friendly connection with the natives of that Continent.

3. To endeavour to enlighten the minds of the Africans with respect to their true interests; and to diffuse information amongst them respecting the means whereby they may improve the present opportunity of substituting a beneficial commerce in place of the Slave Trade.

4. To introduce amongst them such of the improvements and useful arts of Europe as are suited to their condition.

5. To promote the cultivation of the African soil, not only by exciting and directing the industry of the natives, but by furnishing, where it may appear advantageous to do so, useful seeds and plants, and implements of husbandry.

6. To introduce amongst the inhabitants beneficial medical discoveries.

7. To obtain a knowledge of the principal languages of Africa, and, as has already been found to be practicable, to reduce them to writing, with a view to facilitate the diffusion

of information among the natives of that country.

8. To employ suitable agents and to establish correspondences as shall appear advisable, and to encourage and reward individual enterprize and exertion in promoting any of the purposes of the Institution.



## CHAPTER III.

### *Subscribers.*

1. EACH Subscriber of sixty guineas or upwards, at one time, shall be a hereditary Governor.

2. Each Subscriber of thirty guineas, at one time, shall be a Governor for life.

3. Each Subscriber of three guineas, annually, shall be a Governor during the continuance of his subscription.

4. Each Subscriber of ten guineas, at one time, shall be a Member for life.

5. Each Subscriber of one guinea, annually, shall be a Member during the continuance of his subscription.

6. Governors and Members shall have the right of attending all General Meetings, and of voting for the choice of the officers of the Institution.

7. Hereditary Governors shall have the farther privilege of transmitting, to any person whom they may appoint by will, their interest in the Institution.

8. No Subscriber, whose subscription shall be more than one year in arrear, shall have any right to vote at the General Meetings of the Society, until his arrear shall have been paid.

9. All annual subscriptions become payable on the 1st of January, in each year.

10. After the 1st of May, 1808, no person shall be entitled to vote at a General Meeting, until he shall have been a Subscriber for six calendar months.

## CHAPTER IV.

### *Management of the Institution.*

1. THE sole management of the affairs of the Institution shall be vested in a Patron and President, twelve Vice Presidents, a Treasurer, and a Board of thirty-six Directors, to be chosen from among the Governors of the Institution, five of whom shall be a quorum.

2. Six of the Directors who shall have attended the meetings of the Board the fewest times, shall vacate their seats annually, and their places shall be supplied by a fresh election.

3. The Patron and President, Vice Presidents and Treasurer, are *ex officio* Directors; but for the more regular and systematic administration of the affairs of the Institution, a Chairman and Deputy Chairman shall be

chosen by the Directors from their own body, one of whom, if present, shall preside at all meetings of the Board.

4. The Directors shall be empowered to hire or purchase a House or Office, and to appoint Officers for conducting the affairs of the Institution ; to call General Meetings of the Subscribers ; to divide themselves into Committees for the more convenient dispatch of business ; to form local Committees for promoting subscriptions, and for other purposes connected with the welfare of the Institution ; and generally to frame such By-Laws, not inconsistent with the fundamental rules of the Society, as shall appear to them to be necessary for the due administration of its concerns.

## CHAPTER V.

### *General Meetings.*

1. A General Annual Meeting of the Subscribers shall be held on the 25th day of March next, and in every subsequent year on the Wednesday which is the nearest to the 25th of March, that being the day on which the Act for abolishing the Slave Trade received the Royal Assent.

2. At this Annual Meeting the Election of the Officers of the Society shall take place, and the vacancies in the Board of Directors be supplied.

3. At this Meeting a Report shall be made of the proceedings of the Directors during the past year.

4. In case of an equality of Votes, either at a General Meeting or at a Board of

Directors, the Chairman shall have a casting vote.

5. A General Meeting shall be called by the Directors, in case a requisition to that effect shall be addressed to them by fifteen Governors or Members; which meeting shall take place in not less than a fortnight, nor more than one month, from the time of the requisition being received.

6. No General Meeting shall be competent to the transaction of business, unless nine Governors or Members be present. If that number be not present, then the Meeting shall be adjourned for a week, notice being sent to the Subscribers.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Funds of the Institution.*

1. THE Treasurer shall superintend the accounts of the Institution at their Bankers, and order payment of such drafts as shall be made on him by the Directors.

2. The Treasurer shall keep a general cash-book of all his receipts and payments, which shall be laid before the Directors at all their meetings; and he shall make up the accounts of the Institution to the 31st Day of December in every year, in order to their being audited before the General Meeting in May.

3. Three Auditors shall be annually appointed from among the Subscribers, for the purpose of auditing the accounts of the Institution.

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George Yard, Lombard Street.*







# P L A N

Ec.

**T**HE EMPRESS CATHARINE II, in the year 1784, conceived the idea of a work better adapted than any which had preceded it, to facilitate the comparison of languages, and to furnish certain means of determining their affinity and filiation. This work was a Comparative Vocabulary of all Languages. It is obvious that so great a plan must have been altogether impracticable, if it had not been limited to a moderate number of words. Her Imperial Majesty herself selected, and wrote with her own hands, one hundred and thirty words, which she thought the best fitted for the purpose of the work, and the execution was committed to the celebrated *Mr. Pallas*, who has already published two volumes, exhibiting these words in two hundred languages of Europe and Asia. A third was promised, but has not yet been published, with those of America. This defect however may be supplied by Dr. B. S. Barton, Professor of Natural Philosophy at Philadelphia, who is said to have collected Vocabularies of a hundred American languages.

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It is needless to observe how much gratitude and admiration are due to the Sovereign who, in the midst of the cares of Government, found leisure for so noble an enterprize; and to the celebrated Scholar who undertook and executed a task so laborious. These sentiments of gratitude and admiration are not abated by some inconveniences which belong to the plan chosen, and by some defects unavoidable in the first execution of a work of such magnitude. So few copies were printed, and such was the consequent scarcity of the book, that it was not to be found even in the public Library at Paris, the greatest in the world. Another circumstance besides its rarity made it almost inaccessible to curious and ingenious men. A spirit of nationality, pardonable indeed, but inconvenient, had dictated the choice of the Russian Characters, known to very few men of Letters. It required no great diligence to conquer that obstacle, but the Character is said not to be in itself well adapted to perform the functions of an universal Alphabet, and seems (in common indeed with most other Alphabets,) very imperfectly to represent the sounds employed by many other nations.

Very different degrees of accuracy were naturally to be expected in different parts of such a work. The authority of Government was employed to collect specimens of the languages spoken through the vast extent of the Russian Empire, and they may doubtless be presumed to be perfectly correct. The greatest exactness was also attainable in those numerous languages of Slavonic origin, which are analogous in their structure  
and

and genius to the Russian, and which are spoken by nations in the immediate neighbourhood of that great Empire. And no difficulty could be found respecting the polished language, either of ancient or modern Europe. But the same correctness was not possible with regard to the languages of distant nations either illiterate, or whose literature was unknown to learned Europeans. Defects and errors respecting them were inevitable; and they are confessed by the learned compiler, with the candour natural to conscious and secure superiority. It is indeed obvious that in the hands of one man, or of one society, the work can never approach completeness. It never can be executed to the extent or with the exactness desirable, in any other manner than by committing several parts of it to different persons, who may each contribute specimens of the languages most accessible to them. But this distribution would occasion such difficulty and delay as to be altogether useless, if each contributor were only to take a single language. Nor is this at all necessary. The languages of the world are in general divided into classes, one of which extends over many neighbouring or connected countries; and which having been originally dialects of the same speech, or branches from the same stock, retain, even in their separate form, similarity sufficient to make it convenient that they should be considered together. Thus in Europe, from the Rhine to the North Cape, and from the Vistula to the Atlantic, the predominant speech is *Teutonic*, which has gradually diverged into German, Dutch, English, Danish, Swedish, (not to mention the dialects of German) the independent idioms of nations no longer intelligible to each other. This

is a natural principle of classification. Besides, there is a practical convenience in committing to the same person or persons all the idioms spoken in the same Empire, even when they have no natural analogy. This occurs in many cases in Russia; and even in our more contracted insular territories, we have the Welsh, Irish and Gaelic, which, being Celtic dialects, are radically different from English. On either and perhaps on both these principles, from similarity of idiom and from local convenience, the languages of India become the proper province of the British Nation. By Indian languages are meant those spoken by that race of men, of which the great majority professes the Braminical religion, and which inhabits the country extending from the Indus to the Burrampooter, and from the Northern Mountains to Cape Comorin. Whether the nations, situated between the South Eastern Frontier of Bengal and the Straits of Malacca, ought to be comprehended in the Indian class, seems very doubtful; for though Bhudism be either a sect of Braminism, or a modification of the same original religion, and though deep traces of Sanscrit language and learning are discoverable among these nations, yet they are so blended with others of Malay extraction towards the South and so tinged with Chinese manners and institutions towards the East, that there is little reason for ranking them with the unmixed nations of Hindu race. All the Indian languages hitherto explored have a large mixture of Sanscrit; but in what relation they stand to that ancient and celebrated tongue, a matter which has not yet been determined, and which indeed cannot be determined, without a more exact comparison than

has yet been laid before the public. The mere coincidence of many words will not prove that they are descended from Sanscrit. On that principle English would be a daughter of the Latin. Nor is a different grammatical structure a decisive proof that they are not so descended. For that difference subsists between Italian and Latin, between English and Saxon. Sanscrit may have been the ancient vernacular speech of all India, from which all her modern dialects are derived. It may have been the speech of one district, which being more cultivated and polished, was adopted as the written, though not as the vulgar language, of all the other provinces. It is thus that the Tuscan and Upper Saxon dialects are supposed to have become the written and polite languages of Italy and Germany, aided in the latter case by the great influence of Luther. It may have been the language of learning and refinement throughout India, insensibly formed out of the analogous spoken dialects which it left in undisturbed possession of vulgar use. This would be applicable to the supposition of those German and Italian critics who have resisted the exclusive claims of Tuscany and Saxony. It may have been the speech of a conquering nation which imposed its laws and religion on the vanquished, and imparted to them a great portion of its language. In this manner such multitudes of Norman words flowed into the Saxon, and combining with it, gradually produced the Modern English.

Other suppositions might be made, and those which I have offered above might be variously combined; as, the Sanscrit might have grown up spontaneously in one part of India, wh

It might be introduced by conquest into another, and only by religion and learning into a third. But, of problems which depend on such subtle distinctions, it would be absurd to attempt the solution, without a series of writers of well ascertained antiquity, and without those collateral aids from civil history, which, in this country, it seems daily to become more vain to expect. But whether the Sanscrit be the ground-work of the spoken languages, or a subsequent addition; in other words, whether it be to them what the Saxon, or what the Norman is to the English, is a question to which caution and diligence may doubtless discover the true answer. For this purpose it will be useful to observe with peculiar attention the state of derivatives and their roots, of compounds and their elements. The roots will often be found in Sanscrit, where they have not been transferred, or have not been preserved in the vernacular tongue. But it will deserve particular notice whether insulated words or whole families have migrated. The first must happen in every case of intercourse between nations. The second, when it frequently occurs, is a strong proof of the descent of a language. It will also merit the greatest care to determine whether the Sanscrit words, in the spoken dialects, be learned, religious and scientific terms, or words denoting the common objects and actions, for which no nation can be without names. In the first case they may be foreigners, but in the second we may confidently pronounce the languages themselves to be of Sanscrit extraction.

We are informed by Sir William Jones that in several of these tongues there is a combination of Sanscrit with an "*unknown basis*." Unhappily this great Philologist seems to have considered the citation of authorities as unclassical, and to have regarded the detail of proofs as unsuceptible of elegance. Though it be very probable therefore, from his great reputation, that his assertion is true, yet he has not made his researches useful to his successors, who must repeat and verify them before they make any conclusions from them. It would be most curious to ascertain whether this unknown basis be the same in all, or in any considerable number of Indian languages.

In Mr. Pallas's Vocabulary that part which relates to India is necessarily one of the most incomplete. I now wish and hope to remedy that defect, and, by the aid of the British Government in this country, to exhibit a Vocabulary, consisting of his words, and of a certain number of others, in every Language, Dialect and Jargon of India. It is not easy to distinguish these three terms from each other with logical precision: but, for practical purposes, the following distinction may perhaps suffice. When two sorts of speech differ so much that they who speak them are not intelligible to each other, we call them different Languages. When they differ only so much as not to be easily and universally intelligible, they are different dialects. When this difference is confined to the unwritten and ungrammatical speech of the vulgar, it forms what the French call a *Patois*, and what, for want of an appropriate term I must, with the hazard of some reproach for innovation, call a Jargon. Thus, before the Union of the Crowns, the Scottish and English were two dialects



of the same Anglo Norman language.\* Since that period the Scottish can no longer pretend to equal rank; yet the remembrance of its former dignity, and the merit of the authors who have written in it, still entitle it to be called a Dialect; from which the provincial speech of Lancashire or Devonshire would be conveniently distinguished by the term Jargon.

"It is my intention to transmit to the various Governments of British India, a list of words for an Indian Vocabulary, with request that they would forward Copies to Judges, Collectors, Commercial Residents and Magistrates, directing them to procure the correspondent terms in every Jargon, Dialect or Language, spoken within the district committed to their trust: and respecting the languages spoken without the Company's territories, that the same instructions may be given to Residents at the Courts of friendly and allied States, as far as their influence may extend. I shall propose that they may be directed to transmit the result of their enquiries to me, and I am ready to superintend the publication of the whole Vocabulary."

It is particularly desirable that they should mark with great precision the place where one Language, Dialect or Jargon, or variety of speech ceases, and another begins; and that they should note with more than ordinary care the speech of any tribes of uncivilized, or in other respects different from the Hindoo race,

\* To so it surely must be called, though Scotland was never conquered by Normans. The proportion of Norman words in Scotch seems, for some reason not yet very well ascertained, not to have been perceptibly less than in English.

race, whose language is most likely to deviate from the general standard. Mixed and frontier dialects, for the same reason, merit great attention.

The languages now least known to us seem to be those which are spoken on both sides of the Indus, from Tatta to Lahore; and the enquiry might be extended to Cashmire, of which country there are so many natives in most parts of India, that the Cashmirian words can easily be procured.

In the words, especially in those which are familiar, it will be convenient to chuse the *most familiar* of two or more nearly synonymous words: that for instance which would be most easily understood by the lower sort of people.

Where there are many foreigners resident in a district, especially when they speak a language not otherwise very accessible to our enquiries, it will be a great addition to the value of a communication to procure the words to be translated into the foreign as well as the local languages. When the words or their orthography have changed in modern times, it would be most desirable to procure from learned natives the correspondent terms in the more ancient speech.

This vocabulary would be completed by a collection of all the ancient and modern alphabets of the district; their force being represented in English characters according to Mr. Gilchrist's system.

The sounds of all these languages are to be represented by English characters ; and it will be more convenient to adopt Mr. Gilchrist's orthography, which is fixed and generally known, than to contrive another which, even if it were better, would require some time to teach, and probably encounter some opposition.

To facilitate the execution of the plan, there will be subjoined to this Essay a specimen of the tabular form into which the Vocabulary will be thrown.

The extent and limits would be most perspicuously represented by small Maps, in which different colours might denote the different sorts of speech.

Where there are sounds, for the expression of which the English character and Mr. Gilchrist's Orthography are supposed to be peculiarly inadequate, that circumstance ought to be mentioned. In such a case other signs may be used ; provided that full warning be given of the deviation, and that the words be *also* given according to Mr. Gilchrist's system, as being that which is now best known and most generally adopted.

If from accidental circumstances, it should be difficult for any Gentleman to comply with the condition which requires the use of Mr. Gilchrist's system, he will be pleased to give as full an explanation as possible of the plan which he himself adopts.

Though

Though in an undertaking which requires the support of the Supreme Authority, the first appeal must be made to the Officers of Government, yet I have no doubt that they will receive the voluntary aid of every intelligent Englishman who possesses any means of contributing to the object ; and that they will call for the assistance of all the learned natives, who must be able so powerfully to second their exertions.



# VOCABULARY

OF THE

## EMPERESS CATHARINE. II.

1 God,  
2 Heaven,  
3 Father.  
4 Mother,  
5 Son,  
6 Daughter,  
7 Brother,  
8 Sister,  
9 Husband,  
10 Wife,  
11 Maiden,  
12 Boy,  
13 Child,  
14 Man,  
15 People,  
16 Head,  
17 Countenance,  
18 Nose,  
19 Nostril,  
20 Eye,  
21 Eye-Brow,  
22 Eye-Lashes,  
23 Ear,  
24 Forehead,  
25 Hair,  
26 Cheek,

27 Mouth,  
28 Throat,  
29 Tooth,  
30 Tongue,  
31 Beard,  
32 Neck,  
33 Shoulder,  
34 Elbow,  
35 Hand,  
36 Finger,  
37 Nail,  
38 Belly,  
39 Back,  
40 Foot,  
41 Knee,  
42 Shin,  
43 Flesh,  
44 Bone,  
45 Blood,  
46 Heart,  
47 Milk,  
48 Hearing,  
49 Sight,  
50 Taste,  
51 Smell, (the sense of)  
52 Touch,

- |                      |                    |
|----------------------|--------------------|
| 53 Voice,            | 87 'Night,         |
| 54 Name,             | 88 Morning,        |
| 55 Cry,              | 89 Evening,        |
| 56 Noise,            | 90 Summer,         |
| 57 Howling,          | 91 Spring,         |
| 58 Speech,           | 92 Autumn,         |
| 59 Sleep,            | 93 Winter,         |
| 60 Love,             | 94 Year,           |
| 61 Pain,             | 95 Time,           |
| 62 Trouble,          | 96 Earth,          |
| 63 Labour,           | 97 Water,          |
| 64 Force,            | 98 Sea,            |
| 65 Power,            | 99 River,          |
| 66 Marriage,         | 100 Wave,          |
| 67 Life,             | 101 Sand,          |
| 68 Size,             | 102 Dust,          |
| 69 Spirit, (or mind) | 103 Mud,           |
| 70 Death,            | 104 Mountain,      |
| 71 Cold,             | 105 Coast,         |
| 72 Circle,           | 106 Rising Ground, |
| 73 Ball,             | 107 Valley,        |
| 74 Sun,              | 108 Air,           |
| 75 Moon,             | 109 Vapour,        |
| 76 Star,             | 110 Fire,          |
| 77 Ray,              | 111 Heat,          |
| 78 Wind,             | 112 Depth,         |
| 79 Whirlwind,        | 113 Height,        |
| 80 Tempest,          | 114 Breadth,       |
| 81 Rain,             | 115 Length,        |
| 82 Hail,             | 116 Hole,          |
| 83 Lightning,        | 117 Ditch,         |
| 84 Snow,             | 118 Stone,         |
| 85 Ice,              | 119 Gold,          |
| 86                   | 120 Silver,        |

121 Salt,  
122 Marvel,  
123 Forest,  
124 Herb,

125 Tree,  
126 A Stake,  
127 Verdure,

One or two words have been omitted, either because there are no terms exactly corresponding in the English language, or because such corresponding terms did not occur to the writer. Several of the above words, especially such as relate to climate and seasons, will probably, from physical reasons, be untranslatable in the languages of a tropical country. They are preserved out of respect to the original plan, and with a view to suit the Indian Vocabulary, as far as possible, to the universal.

The following words are subjoined to those taken from the Russian Vocabulary.

1 One,  
2 Two,  
3 Three,  
4 Four,  
5 Five,  
6 Six,  
7 Seven,  
8 Eight,  
9 Nine,  
10 Ten,  
11 Eleven,  
12 Twenty,  
13 Thirty,  
14 One Hundred,  
15 One Thousand,

16 First,  
17 Second,  
18 Third,  
19 Fourth,  
20 Twentieth,  
21 I,  
22 Thou,  
23 He, She, It,  
24 We,  
25 You,  
26 They,  
27 Above,  
28 Below,  
29 Before,  
30 Behind,



31 Upon,  
 32 Of,  
 32 From,  
 33 By,  
 34 This,  
 35 That,  
 36 If,  
 37 Unless,  
 38 Yet,  
 39 Sill,  
 40 Though,  
 41 But,  
 42 Without,  
 43 And,  
 44 Since,  
 45 Notwithstanding,  
 46 Nevertheless,  
 47 Except,  
 48 Because,  
 49 Therefore,  
 50 Then,  
 51 There,  
 52 In,  
 53 With,  
 54 Through,  
 55 To,  
 56 Till,  
 57 About,  
 58 Over,  
 59 Much,  
 60 Under,  
 61 More,  
 62 Most,  
 63 Very,

64 Perhaps,  
 65 Rather,  
 66 Once,  
 67 Twice,  
 68 Only,  
 69 Alone,  
 70 Yes,  
 71 No,  
 72 Who,  
 73 What,  
 74 Where,  
 75 When,  
 76 Which,  
 77 To be,  
 78 To have,  
 79 I will,  
 80 I ought,  
 81 I may,  
 82 I can,  
 82 I wish,  
 83 To walk,  
 84 To run,  
 85 To ride,  
 86 To stand,  
 87 To fall,  
 88 To lie down,  
 89 To eat,  
 90 To drink,  
 91 To fight,  
 92 A Horse,  
 93 A Cow,  
 94 A Bull,  
 95 A Buffalo,  
 96 A Cock,

- 97 A Hen,
- 98 A Tiger,
- 99 A Serpent,
- 100 A Sheep,
- 101 A Bird,
- 102 A Fish,
- 103 A Panther,
- 104 A Camel,
- 105 An Elephant,
- 106 A Ship,
- 107 A Goat,
- 108 A Sail.
- 109 An Oar,
- 110 A Sailor,
- 111 A Commander of a  
Vessel,
- 112 A Soldier,
- 113 An Officer,
- 114 Cotton
- 115 Silk,
- 116 Wool,
- 117 Sicknefs,
- 118 Health,
- 119 A Sword,
- 120 A Loom,
- 121 A Saw,
- 122 A Shoe,
- 123 A Bed,
- 124 A House,
- 125 A Door,
- 126 A Nail,
- 127 A Hammer,
- 128 A Knife,
- 129 An Island,

- 130 Rice,
- 131 Wheat,
- 131 Hay,
- 132 Arrack,
- 133 Opium,
- 134 Bang,
- 135 A Taylor,
- 136 A Weaver,
- 137 A Carpenter,
- 138 A Smith,
- 139 A Labourer in Hus-  
bandry,
- 140 A Rock,
- 141 A Cave,
- 142 A Shadow,
- 143 Far,
- 144 Near,
- 145 Beside,
- 146 Beyond,
- 147 Stream,
- 148 Town,
- 149 Field,
- 150 All the *measures* corref-  
ponding to Inch, Foot,  
Mile &c. reduced as  
far as poffible to En-  
glifh measures.
- All the *weights* corref-  
ponding to Ounce,  
Pound &c. reduced in  
like manner to En-  
glifh denominations.
- Meafures of time Do.
- Do. Do.

Names

Names of *days of the week* &c.

Names of *months* with corresponding months in English Calendar.

- 151 Root,
- 152 Bread,
- 153 Pepper,
- 154 Oil,
- 155 Eggs,
- 156 White,
- 157 Black,
- 158 Red,
- 159 Green,
- 160 Yellow,
- 161 Blue,
- 162 Brown,
- 163 Iron,
- 164 Lead,
- 165 Tin,
- 166 Brass,
- 167 Native,
- 168 Stranger,
- 169 Friend,
- 170 Enemy,
- 171 To buy,
- 172 To sell,
- 173 To borrow,

- 174 To lend,
- 175 Anger,
- 175 Pity,
- 176 Rich,
- 177 Poor,
- 178 Revenge,
- 179 Forgiveness,
- 180 Hunger,
- 181 Thirst,
- 182 A Branch,
- 183 A Leaf,
- 184 A Flower,
- 185 Earth,
- 186 Hard,
- 187 Soft,
- 188 Quick,
- 189 Slow,
- 190 Weakness,
- 191 Strength,
- 192 To move,
- 193 To rest,
- 194 To fly,
- 195 To swim,
- 196 To sink,
- 197 To seek,
- 198 To find,
- 199 To heal,
- 200 To kill.

The far greater part of the above words are selected on principle, that being of indispensable use, they must have original parts of the language in which they are found, and not have been derived from a foreign source. The agree-  
 val

various languages in such words is, therefore, a decisive proof that such languages sprung from the same stock. The *numerals* will be universally acknowledged to be of that sort.—No doubt will be entertained about the words confounded under the appellation of *Particles*, and which, before the noble work of Mr. Horne Tooke, were the reproach of Grammarians. All the other terms denote objects, qualities or actions which could not, in any country, have remained long without a name. The mere inspection of the list is indeed a practical proof that such words are a decisive criterion of the filiation of a language. The far greater part of the English words are indubitably Saxon, and they would, of themselves, be sufficient to shew the real source of our modern English. But the Vocabulary would not be complete without some of those words which are most likely to be foreign, and which, for example, in English, are chiefly of Greek and Roman origin.

I shall begin with some of the greater Gods and most important Divine Personages in the Hindoo Mythology, the collection of whose local appellations and names in the spoken languages, must be the first step towards a simple and perspicuous account of the Indian religion.

Brimh, (The Eternal and Infinite Being,)	Lukshmeec,
Bramha,	Purvutee,
Veeshnoo,	Bhawaneec,
Seeva,	Ramu,
Suruswutee,	Kreehnu,
	Boodha,

Maia,

Maia,	18 Right,
Eendra,	19 Justice,
Gunnelha,	20 Punishment,
Varoona,	21 Theft,
Kartikeya,	22 Murder,
Kamu,	23 Rebellion,
1 Godhead,	24 War,
2 Wisdom,	25 Peace,
3 Power,	26 Honesty,
4 Goodness,	27 Humanity,
5 Creation,	28 Charity,
6 Providence,	29 Avarice,
7 Temple,	30 Generosity,
8 Sacrifice,	31 Virtue,
9 Priest,	32 Vice,
10 Pilgrimage,	33 Understanding,
11 Government,	34 Will,
12 King,	35 Probability,
13 Queen,	36 Certainly,
14 Minister,	37 Doubt,
15 General,	38 Assent,
16 Judge,	39 Belief,
17 Law,	40 Conviction,

The signs of the Zodiac, and the names of the Planets.

Some of this last set of words may probably be wanting in several languages. But even this deficiency will not be un-  
 instructive with respect to the various degrees of civilization and  
 instruction of different Indian Nations.

# PLAN OF THE RETURN,

*Which may be made by the Gentlemen from whose liberal exertions the materials of the Vocabulary are expected.*

THE district of                      which is entrusted to me a  
[Judge, Collector &c. as the case may be) extends from    to  
N. and S. and from    to    E. and W. Besides the  
Hindoostanee which is understood and spoken (by the higher  
classes or by the People in general as the case may be) there  
are used in this district the following languages—the    which  
are spoken from    to N. & S. and from    to E. & W.  
repeating this as often as there are different languages used in  
the district.

God	Mahratta	Guzerate (as the case may be)	Bengalee
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prove? 'Absolutely nothing! Why should the faults or crimes of the Company committed a hundred years ago, be now conjured up in judgment against her? I appeal to yourself, if this be fair or reasonable. May we not suppose, that the bribery so much complained of, was rather the fault of the age, than any crime in the Directors of the Company? And does not this consideration afford us a high and consolatory opinion of the justice, prudence, and morality of the present age? Can you or any other opponent of the Company, prove, that they are *now* guilty of bribery or corruption? No. You have yourself told us, (page 119), "that the Directors and others concerned in the management of the Company's affairs are just as good men as any that could sit in their places;" and you add, "*they are all,—all honourable men.*" This is certainly a strong argument in favour of the present purity and justice of the Company, and cannot fail to have its due influence with every man of judgment and penetration.

I shall therefore pass over, without further comment, your history of the Company, and



shall now consider your arguments and invectives against it. After which I shall point out the advantages of the present system, as well as the mischief, danger, and incalculable loss, which would immediately follow free trade, and the consequent destruction of the Company.

The conciseness requisite in a performance of this nature, prevents me from considering in detail, *all* your arguments against the utility of the Company. I shall only take notice of those which seem to me the most striking and impressive, and consequently the most likely to produce an impression on the public mind.

You tell us, that, "The Company do not carry on the trade to as great an extent as it can be, or as it ought to be carried." And you mention on the authority of an Ex-member of the House of Commons, (who, had he supported, instead of opposing the Company, would most certainly have still had a seat in that House), that our exports to India do not amount to half a million sterling annually. But what does all this amount to? Does it

prove that private traders would export more of our manufactures? By no means. It only shews, that from various causes, the demand for our products is very languid in India; and were the trade laid open, ignorant adventurers would only overstock the market, and ruin themselves by their ill-judged and greedy speculations. So much for this unfounded argument against the Company.

You now proceed to tell us that, "the trade of America to the East Indies and China, actually exceeds that of Great Britain!!!" And this information you distinguish, by the typographical figure of speech—three Admirations. However, Sir, I will not quarrel with you on this score; for I freely confess, the trade of America is by far too extensive to the East, and I trust, that effectual means will speedily be taken to clog and lessen it. I allow, that it is unjust and unreasonable to debar our own merchants from a trade, which is allowed to our neighbours and our rivals; and I hope, that even *your* representations on that subject, will be useful and attended to.

But you immediately after enter into a wide field, in which you seem to me to be completely bewildered. You inform your readers, that "the Directors and Proprietors are totally unfit to be the Legislators of a great, extensive, and populous empire:" and to illustrate your proposition, you enter into a metaphysical discussion of the question, whether a merchant is fit to be a statesman. You endeavour to shew, that a gentleman engaged in commerce cannot possess accurate views of legislation: and with an oratorical flourish you inform us, that "His mind, necessarily accustomed to the calculations of individual gain, to the prospects of individual advantage, to the pursuit and investigation of individual objects, is powerfully restrained in the course of its expansion, is essentially narrowed in the extent of its views, is effectually bounded in the nature of its perceptions." Now, Sir, consider for a moment, to what dangerous consequences this doctrine, if assented to, would lead us. Would it not tend to exclude all merchants from the Houses of Lords and Commons? Would it not deprive the subjects of this country of that glorious and peculiar privilege which they enjoy, of aspiring

to the highest honours, offices, and emoluments of the state? Would it not establish a degrading and odious distinction betwixt those engaged in commerce, and the other members of the community? Would it not assert, what is equally contrary to truth, and the interests of our country, that commerce is disgraceful, and tends to narrow and debase the mind? Such, Sir, are the consequences of your metaphysical doctrine; and as it is probable you have not been aware of them, I hope you will now renounce and retract your opinion.

You now go on to assert, that "the Directors are careless of the interests of coinmerce." You state that their revenues are £ 15,000,000 sterling annually, and the profits of all their trade below one million; and you triumphantly exclaim, "Can it be expected, that that man will display any anxiety about the paltry profits of cloth, or earthen-ware, or even of tea and opium, whose mind is employed, and whose imagination is dazzled, by lacks and crores of rupees, by the tribute of princes, and the revenues of empires? What is it to him, whether the trade fade or flourish, whether it increase

or decay? *What's Hecuba to him, or he to Hecuba?*" Now all this is very pretty—— declamation. Have you produced any evidence of your assertion, that the Directors neglect the interests of their trade? No. But you reason upon the probability of it, and you tell us, that it is likely to be so. However, I beg leave to inform you, that, what is likely is not always true, and that, one fact is worth twenty arguments.

You now assert, that the Directors contemn economy: "View," you again exclaim, "the expensive structure of their ships, the wealth of their servants, the greatness of their profits, the immensity of their fortunes, the number of their attendants, and the luxurious lives of all; and you will be enabled to determine whether they are prudent merchants." This you may complacently think is very eloquent; but it is neither more nor less than a rhetorical flourish. Let me seriously ask you, Sir, whether all this reasoning would not apply to several branches of our trade, which are carried on by private merchants? Would it not be equally applicable to the African and West India trade, carried on

From the ports of London, Bristol, and Liverpool? Would not this expence and apparent luxury be equally displayed, if the trade were carried on by private merchants?—Certainly it would. And the truth is, that luxury is always a necessary consequence of extensive and gainful commerce, whether this be carried on by governments, corporate bodies, or individuals. So that this argument so triumphantly brought forward, falls, upon due consideration, like the rest, to the ground.

You proceed seriously to assert, that “the immense private fortunes acquired by the servants of the Company, are pregnant with danger to the happiness and independence of the country.” Now, Sir, allowing the fact, (and, indeed, I am not inclined to deny it,) I would ask you, if this be the fault of the Company;—if it be possible, in the present state of society, to prevent it;—if a free trade would provide a remedy? So far from it, that you yourself have informed us, that a free trade would equally enrich individuals, and aggrandize the country. Of what use, then, is this argument against the Company? Is it not unreasonable to charge it

with the crime of enriching its servants? And if the servants of the Company, from a principle of gratitude, employ their wealth in its support, can any reasonable person blame them? Would they not be justly execrated, if they forsook their generous patron in her unforeseen distress, and lamentable difficulties?—These considerations will clearly shew that you lay blame on the Company where it is not merited, and that, consequently, your complaints, as far as they are unfounded, ought to be universally disregarded.

You afterwards proceed to point out the advantages which, in your opinion, would spring from a free trade. I have not leisure, at present, to follow you in your investigations on this subject; but I shall, in my next letter, point out clearly, and satisfactorily, the danger and incalculable loss, which would undoubtedly arise from a destruction of the Honourable East India Company, as at present established. And I shall then display, as I have now displayed, a far greater anxiety to convince your judgment, than to hurt your feelings, or excite your anger. I shall never stigmatize the opponents of the

Company with any opprobrious epithets, or endeavour to affix to them any unmerited or degrading nicknames\*. I can allow of a difference of judgment, without any evil or sinister intentions. I shall, therefore, Sir, imitate the moderation of your language, and am, at least, equally anxious with yourself, that *truth and the interests of our country may prevail.*

I am, Sir, &c.

A PROPRIETOR.

\* On this account I must express my disapprobation of the conduct of my friend and fellow-labourer, the Editor of the Edinburgh Review, in his truly *ingenious* defence of the Honourable Company, in one of his late numbers. He very *wisely* selected the weakest performance yet published on the subject, to combat with, (a conduct not unusual with *prudent* warriors) and he has consequently stunned, if not defeated, his opponent.

However, I must entirely dissent from his attempt, rather flippant, I must own, to apply to the friends of a *Free Trade*, the odious nicknames of "Commercial Democrats, Hungry Philosophers, and Discontented Grumblers." A *good* cause needs no such support; and good nature, and *good intentions*, will not have recourse to it.



LETTER II.

TO ROBERT RENNY, Esq.

SIR,

I NOW proceed to prove, that a change in the present system would be productive of the most alarming consequences. It would be equally unjust, ungrateful, and disastrous.

Free trade to the East Indies would not only weaken, but would utterly destroy, our dominion in that rich and populous region. The fact is, (it is needless to deny it) our dominion has been acquired by the strong hand of power, with little or no regard to the principles of justice. But the necessity of the case has completely justified us. If we had not originally acquired territory, our enemies the French would have done so, and would have driven us from India; and if we had not afterwards subdued the native princes, they would also have expelled us from that valuable and enriching

continent. So that you see, Sir, it is to the exertions of the East India Company, we are indebted for our dominion and trade in that quarter of the world. Is not this Honourable Company, therefore, although unfortunately involved in difficulties, entitled to a considerable share of our gratitude and respect? Shall we rashly overturn that system, which has already so much benefitted the country, as well as individuals? Shall we give up a certain profit, for a great but uncertain advantage? No wise man will do so: and we had certainly better remain in our present situation, than run any unnecessary risque. *We know what we are, but we know not what we shall be.*

The Company, then, certainly deserves more gratitude and respect, than its opponents have lately been disposed to shew it. And as the country has thriven so well under its auspices, it would certainly be improper to change. No man can foresee the consequences of innovation. Some may, no doubt, be good, but others will certainly be hurtful; and who knows but the latter may be the greatest and the most numerous? Let us then be contented with

our situation, and rather endeavour to discover its advantages, than its faults ;—to find matter of gratulation, rather than food for discontentment. The true secret of happiness consists in looking always on the bright side of the picture of life. Let us, then, disapprove of, and forsake all cries for a change. Sir, you spoke more truth than you were perhaps aware of, when you exclaimed, “ Changes are dangerous ! ” I wish that you, and all the enemies of the Company, really thought so. Were this the case, the friends of *Free Trade* would neither be so numerous, nor so active, nor so discontented.

Another dangerous consequence of a Free Trade would be, “ The tendency of the natives of this country to settle in considerable numbers ; and, consequently, to look upon this country as a foreign land, perhaps as a hard master.” Is not the example of America fresh in our memory ? Are we so infatuated as to wish to be deprived of all our colonies ? And would not the emigration of our youth, and our merchants, and manufacturers, from this country to India, not only endanger our go-

vernment in that region, but lessen our wealth, our population, and our resources at home?

In this point of view also, the present difficulty of getting out to India is highly advantageous. It not only prevents too many inhabitants from leaving their native land, but gives to the Directors of the Company, a very salutary and valuable source of patronage. There is not, perhaps, one family of consequence in the country which is not, on this account, in some degree interested in the welfare of the present Company, and their political friends. So that this difficulty of procuring a permission to emigrate, is productive of two important advantages. It not only tends to keep the people at home, but by the patronage which it gives the Company, it furnishes them with a valuable addition to their political strength, stability, and usefulness.

Another danger to which a Free Trade would expose us, is, that "it is really uncertain, whether, in that case, we should have any trade at all." You, Sir, (*ut mos sit*) without stating any fact, entertain us with reasoning

or conjecture. You are pleased to inform us, that "the British merchant has never yet been found slow to engage in any species of commerce, however hazardous and uncertain. No fear of loss, no distance of country, no barbarism of natives, no sickliness of climate, no tempests of the ocean, have ever repressed his ardour, or extinguished his industry." Now, Sir, I would still ask you, where is the certainty that private merchants will *continue* to trade to India? I grant that when the trade is first laid open, great numbers of adventurers will rush into the India trade. But is not this the very event which is to be dreaded? Will not this immense, this unusual competition, destroy all the advantages of the trade, ruin those imprudent individuals engaged in it, and effectually prevent them from ever again attempting it? Thus, in all probability, in a very short time our trade to India might be totally lost, our national wealth diminished, our merchants and manufacturers ruined, our credit lessened, our naval power crippled, and our national honour and superiority endangered or destroyed.

Let us also consider the danger which would arise to the constitution, from the immense influence which would accrue to the crown, from the destruction of the present Company. In this case the minister would be little better than despotic. So great would be his influence, from the immense patronage which would be placed in his hands, that he would be able to do what he pleased. He would bribe almost every man of weight in the country, at least he would be enabled to secure an immense majority, which would leave us little better than slaves, having nothing left but the semblance and the forms of freedom; dependant for the liberty we enjoy, more on his moderation or forbearance, than our own spirit of independence, or the struggles of our fore-fathers. He would always be enabled, whatever his talents or rectitude, to secure a majority in the Houses of Commons and Lords; he would be screened from punishment whatever his blunders or his crimes; his neck would perhaps be surrounded with a ribbon, when it merited a halter; and he might be receiving the approbation of a legislature which he himself had bribed, when he was justly ex-

posed to the execrations of the public, and would certainly receive the curses of posterity \*. Is not this picture sufficient to frighten every real friend of his Country from a free trade? Ought not every true-born Englishman to avert with the utmost anxiety, such a dreadful state of affairs? How degraded, how lost to every generous and honourable feeling, how sunk in sloth and immersed in luxury must we be, before such disasters can befall us, before we can be placed in such a dreadful situation! Every good man, and you I hope, Sir, among the rest, will join with me in the prayer, *From such a state, good Lord, deliver us!*

I could easily, and should willingly, Sir, enlarge on this subject; but I am anxious rather to be concise than diffuse. I have already completely refuted your most important arguments against the Company, and have clearly pointed out the danger, and the hurtful tendency of a change in the present system.

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\* The Reader will perceive, that this is a case purely hypothetical. No man could, surely, suppose, that it applies to our present political situation.

I trust, Sir, that you and the other opponents of the Company will now be convinced of your error, and that you will not hesitate speedily and publicly to own your mistakes\*. I hope you will now believe, that *changes are dangerous*; and I am, Sir, with best wishes for your success, when your talents are more worthily employed,

Yours, &c. &c.

A PROPRIETOR.

London, March 21, 1808,

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\* It would have been an easy matter to have enlarged on this copious subject, but conciseness is always agreeable, and often prudent. Not to forget the old adage, *Verbum sat sapienti*.

If this performance lead the impartial Reader into a proper train of thought, it will equally tend to advance the interests of truth, and of our native country. And if these happy consequences result from the present publication, the Author will have gained the objects which, to him, are above all others dear.

FINIS.





A

# CERTAIN WAY

## TO SAVE OUR COUNTRY, &c.

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### LETTER I.

*To the People of Great Britain,*

IF ever there was a moment, when the salvation of this country depended on a steady union of the people, and an immediate, and virtuous exercise of their powers, mental and corporal, it surely is the present. It would now be a waste of time, to retrace the causes of our present danger; the great objects we must now pursue, are, first to combat our present difficulties with effect, and then to devise such practical means as may create a new era, more propitious to the human character than has hitherto been experienced. If, in the wisdom and goodness of Him who rules and governs the universe, we are relieved from the destruction, that now menaces Great Britain, no doubt can remain in the mind of any reasonable individual, but that alterations, on a

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very extensive scale indeed, must be soon made in the principles and measures of our government. To renew the former system of corruption; to bestow on ignorance, profligacy, and venality, the rewards due only to virtue, industry, and talent; and, in a word, to tread again the same path, that has led us to the verge of ruin, would be to seal, irrevocably, the destinies of the empire: By our acquiescence in such a criminal procedure, we should deservedly expire as a nation, without even the meagre consolation of pity or compassion.

Let it be remembered, that our country is the first link in the great chain that supports the commercial and general interests of Europe, and, that as an entire alteration has been effected throughout the continent, it necessarily follows, that a system of policy, widely different from the present, must be adopted in Great Britain. The neighbouring nations have mostly been humbled into obedience, or effectually subdued, and we are now left without an ally, to combat, *single-handed*, a powerful people, who may consider our ruin as necessary to their security. Under these circumstances, a radical change in our political system, both foreign and domestic, becomes indispensable to our preservation; and this may be accomplished, without, in the least, trenching on the constitutional

privileges of the crown, or the rights of the people. If it be said, that a different system may be pursued, without any alteration being made in the administrative departments of our government, I answer, *experience*, that unerring guide to truth, hath sufficiently demonstrated the futility of trusting to such an experiment. To suppose that any permanent advantage could be derived from our depending on the future *patriotism* and *integrity* of men, whose errors have become habitual, would be to insult the feelings of a generous people, whose loyalty and patience, under all their sufferings, will form a bright page in the annals of their country.

It must, however, be a pleasing reflection to every honest Englishman, that we possess, not only the means of saving our country at this awful crisis, without adventitious assistance; but, under a regenerated, wise, and vigorous government, of establishing the future prosperity of the empire, on a secure and permanent basis. To point out those means, and to elucidate a new system of political agency, on which, I am of opinion, the fate of England entirely depends, shall be the chief object of my future communications. On this important occasion, I am compelled, by a sense of justice and delicacy, to acknowledge, that I owe the whole of the proposed system to the

writings of *Doctor Edwards*. This gentleman, I understand, hath passed the greater part of a long and honorable life, in devising practical expedients for the establishment of human welfare ; and, in a variety of instances, his plans have been literally adopted by the executive government of the state. To the labours of this distinguished patriot, I am credibly informed, the late Mr. Pitt owed the income and property tax ; and the late minister, the present mode of raising the supplies, without laying any new taxes on the people. This gentleman likewise chalked out the mode, since followed by the servants of the crown, for the redemption of the land tax ; and viewed, with the most critical accuracy, the financial resources of the country, which Sir John Sinclair hath since adopted in his history of the public debt. In the works of Doctor Edwards, now before me, I find, that to his industry and knowledge we are indebted for several plans, that went to the establishment of our northern fisheries, to the improvement of the highlands of Scotland, Ireland, and the whole of the united kingdom. These, and a variety of other designs, equally essential to the prosperity and happiness of his country, are the productions of an individual, whose virtuous labours have been unsupported, hitherto, by Par-

liament, or by any man of power, or influence in the state. It appears, however, that he was not discouraged by neglect, but, depending solely on the resources of his own genius, for the completion of objects that embraced the permanent welfare of his country, he nobly persevered, and ultimately succeeded.

This acknowledgment I consider due to one of the most enlightened and disinterested men of the present age. In my next letter I shall endeavour to delineate the plan he hath lately published for the accomplishment of a new era, which is intended to expand, and harmonise, the human mind, to give stability to the throne, to rescue nations from the desolating hand of war, to perfect the arts, commerce, and manufactures, of Great Britain, and to reform abuses, that strike at the vitals of national prosperity.

THE OBSERVER.

## LETTER II.



IN my last communication, I have acknowledged, that to the writings of Doctor Edwards, I am solely indebted for the plan of national improvement and redress, which I propose laying before the public, under different heads; and which, if carried into effect, must create a new and happy era for mankind. The idea that first suggested this important work, Doctor Edwards informs us, originated in his observing the good effects produced by the improvement of a few parishes, adjoining to his estate, at Barnard Castle, in the county of Durham. Great agricultural improvements were lately made in that town and neighbourhood; common fields, and waste lands, were industriously enclosed; parish business, particularly that of providing for the poor, was sedulously attended to; funds and means were sought to be obtained for re-establishing its decaying manufactures; an agricultural society was formed, to improve the stock, and the different

lands, which the circle contained : attention was likewise paid to whatever might be serviceable, and useful, to the individual, and the public; and as these exertions served to fertilize the neighbourhood, and make the people comfortable and happy, it occurred to Doctor Edwards, that national perfection might be realized by similar means; and that, in fact, it would be only pursuing the same system, upon an extended scale, to establish, for ever, the prosperity of Empires.

To accomplish this great, and beneficent undertaking, Doctor Edwards hath divided the several principles that constitute a well-regulated state, into different sections, and elucidates their several uses, under twelve different heads.

I. ON GOVERNMENT.—Doctor Edwards considers government, in addition to its being an indispensable controul over the human passions, a combination and co-operation of both legislature and people, necessary for their mutual benefit; it is the *compact social*, and effectually harmonizes the several departments of society, when generally and properly understood. Thus the supreme and legislative government, together with the great body of the people, would, in all countries, join in establishing the prosperity of their respective nations, and the individual improvement of each other, on an adequate scale; and, while they found the means provided in Doctor Edwards's



proposals, would derive from those improvements, the happiest returns, both of general and private advantage.

II. ON PUBLIC AGENCY, INCLUDING POLICE.—These necessary instruments of civilization, brought to perfection, faithfully administered, and no longer restricted to ordinary views, would accomplish every thing necessary for the benefit of individuals, and the aggrandizement of nations; and would employ, with the happiest effect, all the local advantages and capacities of Kingdoms, and Empires, wherever they might be found.

III. FINANCE.—In the late tract, published by Doctor Edwards, we find he hath discovered the means, by which the necessary expenditures of the state may be supplied, without loading the people with additional burdens; for he hath pointed out resources that are at present unemployed, or misapplied, by which the people may be exonerated from the public debt, and an immense capital provided, that may be directed to purposes and objects of great national utility. The principal benefits to be derived from these contributions, if honestly applied, are the advancement of industry, and promoting general improvements, increasing national and individual wealth, relieving merit in distress, and duly recompensing useful service, instead of supporting wars and bloodshed; and thereby raising the prices of different com-

modities, producing artificial want, and restricting the people in those natural enjoyments which Providence intended should soften the calamities that “flesh is heir to.”

#### IV. MANUAL AND INTELLECTUAL INDUSTRY.

—These comprehend, manufactures, arts, and sciences; and will effect whatever can furnish strength, population, elegance, and pleasure, in their extensive provinces; they will complete the grand stock of exchangeable commodities produced throughout the world, and supply all the services of human ingenuity.

V. OF AGRICULTURE.—This is the natural employment of man; and, therefore, merits our first consideration. Doctor Edwards very justly observes, on this important subject, that agriculture, liberally and generally encouraged, will supply, in requisite abundance, cheapness, and perfection, all the productions which the earth was created to provide for the subsistence of man. He, therefore, strongly recommends the improvement of the soil, to government, and to all classes and denominations of the people; he points out, likewise, the means for accomplishing this particular object, and for perfecting husbandry in general, and relieving landed property from injudicious burdens and oppressions.

VI. POLITICS.—In a late voluminous publica-

tion, Doctor Edwards observes, that under the direction and auspices of the new era, what are generally called politics, will become known to us, and all nations; they will be clearly defined, and happily established; and, as they are capable of being rendered highly beneficial to mankind, will be steadily pursued, so as to prevent them from being any longer the uniform assassins and murderers of human nature. New principles will establish permanent peace and friendship throughout the earth, and induce men to unite in improving the world, in advancing all its different interests, and fixing the standard of perpetual tranquillity.

VII. COMMERCE.—Trade and commerce, under the new system described in the writings of Doctor Edwards, will find immense resources, which a perfect and general knowledge of the natural interests of mankind will ensure and perpetuate; the extension and augmentation of the different productions of industry, ingenuity, agriculture, &c. will be the consequences, and afford great relief to our commercial interests, while increasing wealth and demand will cheerfully follow the boundless career of national genius, acting on the virtuous and rational principles of universal philanthropy.

VIII. MENTAL INSTRUCTION.—Under the proposed era, what is called mental instruction, every requisite establishment, and every suitable expedient, will be brought forward in all countries, that can improve the minds of the people, qualify them for their different stations, and civilize them as men who are to form a regular community. Thus, a foundation will be laid, on which a structure may be erected, competent to employ all the energies and powers that belong to taste and intellect.

IX. MEDICINE.—By the united improvements of different nations, and the attention of governments to the interests of medicine in all its departments, mankind will, in every situation of life, be furnished with relief, when visited by disease; and by extraordinary efforts, in addition to those of professional people, medicine may be rendered one of the greatest blessings that has been bestowed on man by the divine author of his being.

X. JURISPRUDENCE.—The profession of jurisprudence will be meliorated by annihilating such of its barbarous practices as have hitherto rendered nations miserable; it will advance all the interests necessary to the completion of human welfare, by associating with it the arts of practical improvement, and thus mitigate its usual severities.

**XI. THE APPROPRIATE ARTS OF INDIVIDUAL IMPROVEMENT, PROSPERITY, AND HAPPINESS.**—Doctor Edwards observes, these appropriate arts will become as manifest under the proposed era, and be thought equally important, as those more immediately destined for advancing the public interests of nations; they will be brought to perfection by their own inherent powers, and, combined with the other advantages described in the new system, will receive a permanent and fixed establishment, so as no longer to be left to chance, and the casual fortunes of individuals; they will be diffused every where throughout society, and be supported by all the liberal and subsidiary aids of public beneficence; they will no longer be the victims of abuse and mismanagement, no longer a vain mockery of partial institutions, or confined to a wealthy metropolis, but universally extended throughout the extensive circles of empires.

**XII. RELIGION.**—In the works of Doctor Edwards, we find he describes religion to be the essence of civil policy and human welfare, the sacred bond that unites and harmonizes the world, and that a strict observance of its precepts is the genuine interest of mankind. All nations, however their devotional ceremonies may differ, still profess an unequivocal veneration for religion, and would, under its sacred influence, engage in the glorious pursuit of human welfare on an adequate

scale; they would, therefore, avoid mutual hostilities, persecution, revenge, jealousies, and rebellion, as subversive of their happiness; whilst virtue and principle would be restored to governments.

Doctor Edwards hath advanced means, which we shall proceed next to discuss, for accomplishing every useful and salutary view and object that can be proposed under these twelve heads—and the result of the whole he calls the organised aggregate of civil polity and human welfare. To these heads you may refer whatever good can be found practicable—and when you have done so, you have a competent idea of the proposed era; at the same time you will be adequate to rectify public affairs, and save the empire—since it comprises every possible resource the nation can require.

THE OBSERVER.

## LETTER III.



I HAVE, in a former letter, given an abstracted view of the several heads proposed by Doctor Edwards, as an aggregate of principles, from which it is presumed a new era may be formed, that will give peace and happiness to the world. On a serious perusal of the several works published by Doctor Edwards on this sublime subject, I find he hath provided such means as will carry into complete and immediate effect the whole of his system. A principal point being ascertained, that of knowing the views and objects necessary to the completion of his undertaking, his intentions are to adapt suitable plans to them severally; to find means adequate to these plans; and, by the assistance of an intelligent agency, and all those who feel a pleasure in doing good, to carry them into execution. He hath, therefore, sedulously endeavoured to acquire those numerous resources, and expedients, necessary to his

views; he hath carefully guarded against all unfavourable incidents; he hath shewn the practicability of his system, and has evinced a greatness of mind equal to the sublimity of his undertaking.

Among the principal means he hath brought forward to effect these purposes, are commanding talents for improvement, and practical abilities; the powerful energies existing in those he hath found in study, calculation, practice, experience, science, and observation. He, at the same time, arranges, under each of the twelve heads before-mentioned, every single and detached measure that may be introduced as a useful auxiliary, and having thus completed each head, he employs it as a whole, combining the twelve as a most powerful machine for the accomplishment of his system.

Doctor Edwards hath certainly discovered a mind perfectly competent to his subject, and which, in my opinion, he hath actually exhausted, for he hath not only proposed means for accomplishing his great object, but such as would introduce, and give it effective motion, throughout every part of the empire. It must be evident to such people as duly contemplate the proposed system, that no favourable issue can be expected from the labours of any individual, however salutary, without the assistance



of all ranks and denominations of the people. The whole genius of the nation, together with the legislative and executive authorities, should unite in perfecting a system that embraces every object that can be valuable to man. The higher powers should encourage local societies to assemble, for the purpose of acquiring a talent for improvement, which is necessary to us as a species that depends, not upon its instinctive powers, but its meliorative efforts, for support and happiness. Nay, Doctor Edwards observes, that parliament, and the executive government, should, themselves, become a grand national assembly for the due cultivation and improvement of civil polity, and general welfare ; their debates, on such important subjects, would be heard with reverence by the people ; the several branches of the legislature would then be employed in discharging, with fidelity, the great duties which they owe to God and their country ; not in forming cabals, struggling for power, places, pensions, &c. in open defiance of every principle of decency, rectitude, and honour. Lastly, as a principal means of instituting the system, he proposes to establish, under the charge of the executive government, persons of practical genius and sound abilities, whose office would be to mature his plan, for the adoption of the legislature. Ministers of state are not, and cannot be expected to be, practical

adepts in the different arts, that constitute the grand aggregate of civil polity, since those are so numerous, and of such extensive application; but as their advantages should not be lost to nations, so persons, who are proficient therein, should be associated with the executive government.

I am perfectly aware, that objections will be started to the system proposed by Doctor Edwards, chiefly on the ground of its not being practicable; because it is founded on a principle that does not exist; namely, *universal philanthropy*. To those, who are really of this opinion, I observe, that in the writings of Doctor Edwards, its attainment is evidently pointed out, and its progress cannot be obstructed, unless the apathy of the people interposes, or the intrigues of those in power, who apprehend danger from general information. It has been observed, that to enlighten the people would be to render them turbulent, and uneasy; but this is a gross mistake, for the best means, that can be devised by human ingenuity, for the permanent establishment of any government, is to give the people a due sense of their religious and social duties: ignorance is the parent of rebellion, and many of those evils that vitiate the human mind, and lead to the destruction of Empires.

It is now generally admitted, that a radical change in the administration of public affairs must soon take place, and what has happened in the world, during the last thirty years, and has lately taken place on the continent, countenances this opinion; indeed, to suppose that such a defective and corrupt state of things can exist much longer in the world, would be absurd, and, therefore, it would be prudent, if prudence only were to be consulted, to enlighten the people before national and political reformation be obtained by convulsion. By instructing the multitude, and giving them a due conception of their individual, and general interests, many of those old prejudices, that have so long debased this country, would be for ever exploded: we should no longer, for instance, be accustomed to consider the French people, our *natural* enemies; every reasonable man would soon perceive there exists no greater impediment against the establishment of an amicable union between the inhabitants of *London* and *Paris*, than might be adduced to preclude an intercourse between *this city* and *York*. We are sensible that *England*, and *Scotland*, so long engaged in the most bloody conflicts, and entertaining what was considered a mortal enmity against each other, appear now, and really are, as nations, friends, and brothers;

the reason is evident;—they have seen the folly and wickedness of that policy, which set them by the ears together, and mutual happiness is the result. The same reasoning will apply to *France* and *England*; there is not any *natural* impediment, but a nefarious *political* one, that stands in the way of permanent reconciliation, and creates difficulties, which the people are *educated* to think insurmountable. When this political impediment is exploded, civilization will necessarily follow; and all the blessings man is capable of enjoying, secured to the people. To any person, who says this reasoning is fallacious, I answer, that we are creatures whose minds and dispositions are formed by education; but, that if it were found, after an impartial, and fair trial, not possible to exterminate war, by applying to the reasoning faculties of our species, the whole of the human race must for ever bless that man, who first made so glorious an experiment.

Throughout the whole of Doctor Edward's political writings, I have observed, with much pleasure, that he recommends, in the strongest terms, *religion* and *loyalty*, and takes them as the fundamental basis of his system. He hath shewn, by arguments incontrovertible, that in this country, the constitution, as established in 1688, civil and religious, should be pre-

served without the smallest diminution ; human wisdom, is is certain, never yet erected a fabric better calculated to protect mankind from the storms that too frequently convulse the political hemisphere, and, therefore, nothing should be attempted, that had even a tendency to shake the foundation. The building, it must be acknowledged, wants repair ; but this may be done, and the whole strengthened and beautified, with very little trouble, labour, or expense ; Every hand should be employed in this glorious undertaking, because the edifice properly belongs to the great body of the people ; and they should transmit it, *in good condition*, to their children.

The preponderating influence, lately obtained by France, on the continent of Europe, naturally creates many difficulties in the minds of Englishmen, on the subject of peace. Doctor Edwards hath attended to this important subject with a very becoming solicitude, and pointed out a road that will lead us to a safe and happy home. His proposals are calculated to procure us an immediate, advantageous, secure, and permanent peace, for they counteract, on one hand, the imminent danger arising from France seeking to be a greater naval power than ourselves ; while, on the other, they counteract an equal danger that would result from our persisting to engage so deeply in continental politics. Doctor Edwards, therefore,

happily compromises, between the two nations, on these important subjects. In the next place, as Great Britain and France could, if united, regulate the political affairs of the world at their pleasure, his proposals show by what suitable means the British empire may be extended and strengthened, so as to permit France to retain those advantages she appears determined to possess. Thus, by making peace advantageous to both, they will render it permanent, and, at the same time, essentially serviceable to our commercial and national interests. Further, the new system will enlighten the people of both nations, in respect of their true interests, and no longer suffer either nation to be subject to the artifices, ambition, or impolicy, of their respective governments. In fact, the means proposed by Doctor Edwards, if carried into effect here, will soften the animosity which France now entertains against this country, and restore that mutual confidence which is so indispensable to consolidate peace between both empires. The same means being adopted by the different nations of Europe, as is proposed by Doctor Edwards, would enable them to recover, in a short period, from their present lamentable state, and, by their future industry, render them independent and happy. The proposals, made by Doctor Edwards, likewise provide for the durability of the peace, and security of the country, by

an efficient plan for rendering us a martial people, and furthering every possible military service required by sea and land.

So obvious, and simple, are the foundations on which public affairs may be rectified, and the prosperity of empires completed. It remains, therefore, for government seriously to proceed upon them at this eventful crisis; and for the people, if necessary, to support them by addresses to the legislature, or reform in their representation in parliament, or by both; for it is more than probable, that government, and the legislature, will not adopt the present proposals, unless they are supported by the people.

I have endeavoured, in this small tract, to direct the attention of my countrymen to the great and glorious system proposed by Doctor Edwards. I am a volunteer in the service, and hope to find others who will act with equal disinterestedness, and more effect.

THE OBSERVER.

THE END.





**G. SIDNEY, Printer,  
Northumberland-Street, Strand**

TO

THE EDITOR.

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SIR,

YOUR employment as Director of a popular journal is, at this awful crisis, one of the most important in the empire. Through the medium of the press, (so justly and classically styled the palladium of all our civil and religious liberties) the great body of the people are to be *truly* informed respecting their conduct at this eventful moment; to your office, therefore, there is attached a very serious responsibility, and I entertain no doubt but you will discharge the important duties of it with fidelity and honour.

The period is certainly arrived, when we are either to pass under the yoke of a foreign usurpation, or rise superior to our former greatness; there

is no middle course that can now be pursued ; we should, therefore, instantly rally around the throne, and after forming one general phalanx, rest either on our union and valour for a glorious termination of the war, or on such future measures as will correct that fatal policy we have hitherto pursued. It would be insulting the understandings of Englishmen to talk any longer of the benefits that may arise from the councils of those who are occasionally placed in official situations, the wretched cabals of placemen and their opponents, together with their imbecilities, are now fortunately known, and, of course, despised ; let us, therefore, dismiss them as beneath the attention of a high-minded, loyal, and enlightened nation ; let us appeal to the good sense of the people at large, and submit such measures to their consideration, as have a tendency to rescue our beloved sovereign, and all classes of the community, from eternal disgrace and undistinguishable ruin.

I admit, Sir, and with great cheerfulness, the good intentions of those who are now in power, and likewise of those who lately filled the executive departments of the state ; but it is a duty incumbent on me to declare, on the present occasion, that neither the *outs* nor the *ins*, (as they are ludicrously styled) are in possession of the confi-

dence of the people; it is not a want of loyalty and honour in the king's servants, or their opponents, but their *incapacity* we complain of; how awful is the consideration that, at this tremendous era, we are left without a single statesman capable of directing the energies of the country in time of war, or providing the empire, when peace returns, with new and vigorous resources.

These reflections, Sir, induced me lately to address *three letters* to the people of England, entitled, "A CERTAIN WAY TO SAVE OUR COUNTRY, AND MAKE US A MORE HAPPY AND FLOURISHING PEOPLE, THAN AT ANY FORMER PERIOD OF OUR HISTORY;" they contain an organized aggregate of principles, salutary in their operation and easily carried into effect. I have, therefore, strongly recommended them to the study and adoption of my countrymen, at this momentous period.

When a peace between Great Britain and France takes place, (and the system I have recommended will accelerate that desirable event) these principles carried into effect, will render it permanent, as they embrace that wise policy which renders *mutual friendship* the genuine interest of nations. They likewise recommend a sufficient military and naval force to be supported in the united kingdom, that we may constantly

present an imposing front to every power, and be prepared for events. The means necessary to the support of an enlarged peace establishment, are provided for in the proposed system ; a general plan is chalked out for the speedy liquidation of the national debt ; for the improvement of agriculture, the fisheries, the commerce, and manufactures of the country, and the whole so formed as to ensure general happiness and tranquillity.

It is certain, that means may be found in the aggregate principles I have already mentioned, by which the above different objects may be accomplished, and all the interests of mankind consummated, in a manner that may be supposed to have been the wise intention of our great and benevolent Creator. The only obstruction to the proposed system is, that neither *ministers* nor *ex-ministers* have yet understood it, or qualified themselves to devise another of a similar nature ; that both are alike indisposed to that meliorative innovation, manly improvement, and patriotic benevolence, inseparable from the plan of a new era, and have engaged the Lords and Commons wholly to depend upon their respective councils, and thus suppressed that public thought, and those extraordinary talents in the people, and their representatives, the utmost exercise of

which are, at this interesting period, so essentially necessary to our preservation:

To remove the preceding obstacles, it will be necessary for the higher orders, including both houses of the legislature, and for the people, to take the proposed plan for establishing a new era, and the documents that support it, into their immediate and serious consideration. It is presumed the most convenient mode would be to assemble in the different cities and great market towns throughout the kingdom, where, or in the neighbourhood of which, they reside; and after considering it, if found worthy of credit and confidence, then to instruct their representatives in Parliament to support and bring it to perfection. To know whether the plan recommended be practicable or not, it must be generally considered by the people of every denomination; the *Peer* and the *Ploughman* must fall together, if the nation be undone; *all* are interested, and therefore every man, at present, should exert the utmost reachings of his soul to protect and save his native land. If the new system be found practicable in toto, it should be generally and instantly adopted; or, if not wholly admissible, such parts as appear necessary to the interests of the country should be selected and recommended to the serious con-

sideration of the legislature. Delay would now be fatal to the empire, and therefore, forms must give way to principles; the people, however, must act constitutionally and peaceably, but with firmness; they must collect the general sense of the country, and their instructions to their representatives must be respectful, yet imperative. I will add, Sir, in the language of him, whose beloved and honoured manes now lie mouldering in the sepulchre, that "England expects every man will do his duty."

I have acknowledged in a former letter, that to the writings of DOCTOR EDWARDS I am indebted for the system I have lately offered to public consideration; but as his political works are voluminous, and therefore cannot be generally read, I think he should step forward at this crisis, give us a summary of his plan, and in language the most intelligible, that every man who reads may understand, without difficulty, the objects he recommends to the people. A character like his, should, when the country is in danger, not only devise measures for its preservation, but exert the whole of his powers, to carry them into immediate effect. He should therefore point out to the people, that the empire can only be saved by measures contrary to

those pursued hitherto by *ministers* and *ex-ministers*, and that his proposals will not be adopted, until cherished and sanctioned by the people.

This, Sir, is a reasonable expectation, and I live in hopes we shall not be disappointed.

THE OBSERVER.





TO

THE OBSERVER

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SIR,

I have lost but little time in answering your letter of the 26th Instant, wherein you call upon me to submit to the consideration of the higher orders, and the body of the people, throughout the kingdom, those various proposals, or practical improvements, to the devising of which I have appropriated my time and attention. You assure the nation, they are qualified in all respects to be carried into effect at the present eventful moment, as well as competent to save the country, and make us a more happy and flourishing people, than we have been at any other period of our history. I am therefore desirous of complying

with your request, and no efforts of mine shall be spared, provided the dispositions of the several orders of the people, corresponding with the urgency of the crisis, be found propitious to the enterprize.

My intentions hitherto have been to give my country incontrovertible proof of the validity of my practical plans, as I have applied these to every different subject of human welfare, that can possibly occur, and thus I expected, at length, to be able to procure the generous confidence of the public in favour of that grand object, or system, which I have had in view to accomplish through their means. The adoption of the Income, or property tax, and other plans of mine by government, and by the late administration, of one for raising the annual supplies without new taxes, ought not only to establish my claim of confidence on the public, but induce me to comply with your request, in order to redress the burdens and misfortunes, which those plans too probably have been the innocent cause of producing.

For my part, I know of no other way to rectify public affairs, and answer the other infinitely important purposes you propose, than to enlighten the nation through the medium of the different fundamental principles of human wel

fare, or civil policy, and carry the aggregate of these into practice by the numerous arts and expedients attached to national improvement. It is them alone, that are the proper instruments of making Empires great and happy, as you have shewn by a beautiful summary in your preceding letters. The greatest abilities, and the most careful economy of the public expendirure, whatever great services they are capable of effecting, can only operate to a salutary purpose by their intervention. As the instruments of making nations great and happy, I dare assert, they are a host in themselves, that would enlighten France, as well as Great Britain, so far as either is ignorant of them. On this account, both nations having reached the due extension of their respective empires, it should be their common object to adopt those principles and expedients of national improvement.

When an event so desirable takes place, the ministers of neither country would be able to mistake their interests, or, if they should, their different monarchs and people would be sure to counteract their proceedings. Thus the two rival nations, considering war as alike fatal to the prosperity of both, would actually avoid

it, as much as they have hitherto been anxious to embrace it. They would attend to the different views of my system, which are of the highest importance to their genuine interests, by means of permanent peace. Convinced at length, that their interests are reciprocal, they would exert all their endeavours mutually to serve each other.

Therefore, no time or opportunity ought to be lost in introducing this system, which it has been my singular good fortune to discover; and a satisfactory peace will immediately follow; which war and ignorance, in general synonymous terms, can never possibly establish. Common honesty is sufficient to support the system in all its various ramifications: and kings, and their people, are always sufficient to make ministers honest, if they please to enforce a duty they ought to consider as inviolably sacred.

At present Great Britain cannot be called an enlightened nation, and perhaps she rapidly proceeds in the wane of her past splendours, to set in total darkness. This we ourselves acknowledge in the general confession of our ignorance in politics: and the honesty of our ministers may be wholly lost in their injustice to their own people, of which I am sufficient evidence, my name, as the author of the above

plans taken from my works, having never been mentioned in adopting them.

The remedy which you, Sir, wish me to advance, is as immediate in its operations, as it is salutary: and I assure you it is more easy, and manageable, than it is grand and extensive. Let Great Britain be enlightened in respect of her foreign and domestic interests, and have the virtue to render justice to them; let her ministers be made to act as honest men; then permanent peace will arrive, her empire be saved, and her prosperity and happiness readily completed on their genuine foundations.

It remains, Sir, to express my sense of the obligation which you have imposed upon your country, in publishing a manual, or a short and clear explanation, of a true and natural System of Human Welfare, or what is sometimes, though improperly called, Government. You have shewn the different views and objects of the System, and the general means of carrying it into effect;—but the several plans, which would realize the System in practice, form a work unavoidably voluminous, that cannot be abridged. I am, however, ready to supply this defect by producing those Plans, wherever called for, and shewing their validity in my works. I even trust, those which Parliament has borrowed from me are a sufficient proof of the merits of the whole.

Thus a new school for the Statesman may readily be instituted—which, complete in itself, will be rendered effectual, if supported by the magnanimity and virtue of the different orders, and embraced with candour by the Legislature. You, Sir, have pointed out a convenient mode for them to forward your views at their own homes, as well as that which is constitutional in petitioning Parliament, and instructing their representatives in its tenets. The System otherwise will never be established, for the reasons you have stated: besides, the Legislature cannot possibly advance those radical measures which the crisis requires, unless the members embrace its profound and comprehensive views, or explore similar themselves. The time they allot for this study, in private, is altogether insufficient; and that which should be assigned to the elucidation of a subject so important and comprehensive, as the proposed System, is principally engrossed in negative and affirmative discussions of little interest to the empire in general.

GEORGE EDWARDS.

THE  
*S T A T E*  
OF  
B R I T A I N,  
Abroad and at Home,  
IN  
*THE EVENTFUL YEAR,*  
1808;

BY  
AN ENGLISHMAN,  
OF NO PARTY.

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" HIS JUDGMENTS ARE OVER ALL THE EARTH."

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London :  
PRINTED FOR S. TIPPER, LEADENHALL-STREET,  
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1808.

[*Price Two Shillings.*]





THE  
STATE OF BRITAIN,

&c. &c. &c.

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**A**GESILAUS, the renowned Spartan monarch, is said to have been so fully sensible of his own natural deformity, lameness ; that he entreated his countrymen never to erect any statues to his honour, however his exploits might be handed down to posterity through the medium of history.

With equal propriety, may the present inhabitants of these realms forbid the chronologist and the biographer to transmit a statement of modern occurrences to succeeding generations ; lest the ancient glory of England be extenuated, if not entirely done away, by the relation of those melancholy events which each revolving season brings to light. Various and astonishing are the vicissitudes of life : states and empires rise and fall with a rapidity that almost exceeds belief, and ocular demonstration can, alone, convince mankind of the frailty of human power.

In former times, many wonderful revolutions occurred amongst the heathen nations ; and the decline of the Roman, Grecian, Persian, Jewish, and Assyrian empires, excited the admiration of the sages and philosophers of antiquity. No period, however, can be brought to memory, in which, during so short an interval, any extent of territory, equal to modern Europe, has been agitated by events, so sudden, so destructive, or so alarming. The decay of the Grecian dominion was progressive. The dissolution of the Roman perceptibly approached, from the time in which the latter Flavius convulsed the world, and Rome became subservient to her bald Nero. *Cum jam semianimum laceraret ultimus orbem Flavius, et calvo serviret Roma Neroni.* But the overthrow of modern European dignities has been as the passing of a cloud : They have disappeared as a meteor, which glitters for a moment, and then vanishes into air.

An Upstart, springing as it were from the bosom of oblivion, has been decreed by the wisdom of Omnipotence to scourge the iniquities of mankind. Long did the rod of justice menace those unhappy countries, now suffering the punishment due to their criminality, fraud, and oppression: the day of retribution has at length arrived, and dreadful are

its judgments. Lamentation and misery, the inseparable companions of war, usurp the throne of public tranquillity; the aged father, with trembling limbs, now seeks the breathless body of his darling son amidst heaps of dead and dying; the wretched wife throws herself in speechless agony upon the bleeding corpse of her beloved husband, and starving orphans in vain cry aloud for their daily sustenance. Frantic with despair, the husbandman beholds the fiery element issuing from the roof of his humble dwelling, whilst the exultations of a brutal soldiery, as the flame consumes his little all, seem to mock his woe. Joy is banished from the cottage of the poor, and Desolation holds his court in the vacant mansions of the great. Here, be it especially remarked, that, of all the continental states against which the just indignation of heaven appears to have been directed, no one has suffered more severely or more justly than Prussia. It was here, that scepticism and infidelity met protection; under the auspices of a Frederick, atheism and its pernicious tenets flourished in a fertile soil.

Pride and blasphemy, sanctioned by regal authority, spread their baneful influence far and near, whilst despotism carefully watched the ri-

pening seeds of impiety, and commanded them to swell into maturity.

In these eventful times, when the vengeance of Heaven seems awakened to punish the host of ambitious ones that are raised on high, and the short-lived powers of the earth, Russia also at last, for crimes hitherto undivulged, appears either to have undergone, or to be about to undergo, the common sweeping lot of nations; Yes! Russia, that mighty empire, so astonishingly, and suddenly, elevated from a state of comparative barbarity, by the unwearied labours of a royal individual; that mighty empire, equalling, if not surpassing, in magnitude, the whole continent of modern Europe. From the abject subserviency of this great state to the imperious mandates of Ali Buonaparte, the commerce of England has, no doubt, severely suffered; yet the peculiar construction of the Muscovite government, [in which the trading nobles, who are more than fellow-sufferers with ourselves, take so considerable a share,] renders it highly probable, that, in the course of natural events, their infatuated young prince, will not live to see the final subversion of his throne, nor the destruction of his hereditary rights; but that either the thunders of accumulated wrath from those

in delegated authority, or the equally dreadful portent of one indiscriminating convulsion of the whole enormous system of his policy, will grant him the quick apotheosis of a Paul I. or the lingering martyrdom of a Louis XVI.

In the contemplation, however, of foreign calamities, let not an Englishman forget the situation of his native land. It was the opinion of a celebrated author, that France could never become an object of terror to this country, until she should acquire a certain extent of territory ; stretching, according to his description, from the Northern coast to the Mediterranean shore ; but in the event of this hypothesis, he scruples not to allege, that herenmity would be truly formidable.

The critical moment has at length arrived ; and every port, from the frozen regions of the Baltic to the warm climates of the Adriatic, may be considered as closed against our trade and manufactures. In return, it also may be justly remarked, that a British squadron has, at any time, the power of prohibiting the importation of every species of merchandize into the continental states. But though we may, in some degree, be enabled to deprive our adversaries of the superfluities, we cannot abridge them of the necessities of existence, by reason of their extensive communications on land. The partiality of

foreigners to all kinds of West-India produce must, undoubtedly, render highly inconvenient to them the deprivation of that, in which their principal gratification is known to consist. The vigilance of our cruizers has already prevented, in some degree, the importation of colonial produce into hostile kingdoms ; the inhabitants of which are, by a recent order of our government, altogether prohibited from its purchase, even at the hands of American traders. The first, however, and most essential concern of every principality is, to provide grain for the consumption of its inhabitants ; and it remains to be considered, in what manner a due and regular supply may be obtained for ourselves.

The dreadful scenes which have recently been exhibited amongst the northern nations, must certainly have arrested, for a time, the progress of agriculture ; and though Prussia, particularly in the vicinity of Dantzic, has hitherto been celebrated for its abundant harvests, yet the myriads of invaders, introduced from every quarter by the direction of a sanguinary chief, will, it is to be feared, absorb a considerable portion of its annual produce, and most probably diminish the future increase of that unhappy land.

France has long ceased to vaunt her cultivation ; and the departure of the multitudes, whom Buonaparte's ambition has drawn away to swell the

magnitude of his hosts, or to supply the place of those who have fallen by the sword, the pestilence, or famine, must leave an astonishing vacuum in the mass of population. The soil, more especially towards the south, is naturally fertile; and, the seed once sown, a trifling degree of attention will produce a plentiful crop; but here the deficiency of husbandmen begins sensibly to be discerned, and unless the aged and infirm put forth their feeble hands to grasp the reaping hook, the rich spoils of summer must overspread the earth in melancholy profusion. Of this paucity of labourers, and of the inability of France, at present, to maintain her numerous inhabitants without further assistance, the shrewd Corsican seems to be fully aware; and therefore he forbears to oppress the state over which he presides, but quarters his troops upon any of the adjacent countries, whose allegiance he may find it convenient to suspect. Notwithstanding, however, this politic arrangement, whereby France is relieved from an oppressive burden, it must become a subject of doubt to every reflecting mind, whether or not, the continent can, for a lengthened period, continue to support the multitudes of armed men, now principally engaged in devouring the labours of rural industry.



Fame may, indeed, lead men on to conquest, and ambition to the field of glory, but art and nature shudder at the thunder of battle so inimical to their progress. The self-same Providence, that raised an unknown character from the depths of obscurity, to execute its righteous judgments upon a guilty world, can alone sanction his career, and protect him from the fury of surrounding nations, who dread his prowess and execrate his name. Happily for England, the prospect on her part is infinitely more cheerful. It is reasonable to infer that the subjugation of the northern maritime coast by the victorious arms of Buonaparte, will entirely preclude the possibility of our importing corn from that quarter of the world ; and America at present appears the only place, whence this invaluable commodity can be obtained in any considerable quantity. This circumstance, added to the known inconsistency of the latter state, may possibly have occasioned some alarm in the breasts of those, who are inclined to suppose this country not sufficiently productive, to insure to its inhabitants a yearly quantum of grain, adequate to their subsistence. This fear is, however, I trust, grounded upon needless anxiety. From the latest surveys of the British dominions, it is well known, that many thousands of acres at this

moment lie in a state of barrenness and inutility ; especially in the vicinity of large parishes, where the right of commonage becomes an object of considerable importance to the inhabitants. It has been ably demonstrated by gentlemen concerned in the corn trade, (who, it is presumed, are not, as men of general information exclusive of their line of business, wholly ignorant of the annual growth and consumption of corn in this country,) that every chance, every *natural* possibility of famine, may be prevented by a measure, as simple, as it is easy of being put into execution. Let every parish possessing lands to a certain extent, be directed, by a public act of the legislature, to sow a tenth part with grain : and let the money arising from the sale of its produce be applied, as is usual, according to the direction of the major part of the inhabitants, or of the principal officers, for the relief of the indigent and diseased. The application of the profits is not, however, the object of our present attention, and it would be superfluous to devise means for that purpose ; more especially, since the various necessities of different districts can only be known satisfactorily by personal observation. The cultivation of such an amazing tract of land, which is now sterile, would consequently produce an increased harvest, and, by

an almost incalculable quantity of wheat being poured into the market, its price must be considerably depreciated. Opulent farmers could not, then, dispose of their corn at their own, too frequently extravagant, rates; for the parishes, finding it their interest to be moderate, would decidedly obtain the preference. But here may seem to arise two material objections; viz: that the poor would be deprived of their right of commonage, whereby they are enabled to rear a few tame animals, and thus to eke out a precarious existence, with some small share of comfort to themselves and their families; and, that the farmers, being under-rated, would not only receive no inducement to bring their grain to market, but might even derive injury from the scheme. To these allegations in opposition, my answer is concise. Let the regulation be enforced, as before stated, towards those parishes, only, who possess a certain quantum of land, more than is adequate to the maintenance of their poor. And be it remembered, in reply to the next objection, that if the price of corn, the standard of all other articles of consumption, be once diminished, the cost of every other thing will consequently abate, in the same proportion. Why then, will it be asked, if this scheme is practicable, has it not been long since

carried into effect?—The reason is obvious. The great landholders fear, though without just cause, that a reduction in the price of grain would prevent the farmers, who hold under them, from paying their customary rents, and that thus their own establishments would be exposed to a considerable diminution: but, as has been already observed, if all other articles were thereby drawn down to the same level, upon what grounds can the objection stand? However the real state of the case may be, whenever the subject has been laid before the representatives of the realm, it has seemed advisable to disapprove of it. On the supposition\* that a public act could be passed to promote and support the measure, what sums might not be saved!—sums, now annually expended in the purchase of grain from foreign states. With what independence might we hold out against the wrath of our disappointed adversary, the Corsican usurper! How strongly would the minds of the people be confirmed in an affectionate regard for their country, and a dutiful attachment to their beloved monarch!

. Bread is the chief article of the poor

\* A public act can alone be effectual, as the expense attendant upon the passing of a private bill, would, from the unavoidable charges, deter an individual from the experiment.

man's subsistence; it is truly the most natural staff of life, and requires no fuel to prepare, no pains or labour to compose. It is delivered, in a manner, ready made to his hand; and the deficiency of this, alone, induces many other wants till then unknown. At this period of general tribulation, it behoves every man to lay aside self-interested ideas. His country, his sovereign, the admirable form of government by which he is protected from insult and oppression, his religion, his family, his kindred, his friends; and above all his *liberty*; that Liberty, which all, as the moralist declares, in public or in private, worship; whose taste is grateful and ever will be so, till nature herself shall change: all these are at stake; and is this a time to postpone the public good to private considerations?—Certainly not; though every other interesting persuasion should fail of success, let this assurance at least have its due influence upon the mind of each reflecting man: *Homo, qui HOMINI CALAMITOSO est misericors, meminit sui.*

It would be as presumptuous, as it is unnecessary, for me to expatiate upon the condition of our colonies in the Eastern and Western hemispheres; after the numberless publications of writers, more intelligent and more deeply in-

terested in their welfare. A summary of their situation, only, will therefore be introduced. Since the closure of foreign ports, we find, even from the statements of our enemies, or at least of those who are under their controul, that the strict prohibition of Buonaparte, relative to the importation of British colonial and domestic productions, has been attended with the most dreadful consequences to the continental states, and that many of them are in absolute need from a deficiency of them.

It may, indeed, afford some partial satisfaction, to think that the severity of our foes has operated so powerfully against themselves: yet, at the same time, a cursory glance at our own country will convince us of the parity of our own condition. It has been held up as a maxim, that, "trade will always find a port, though a port cannot always find trade," but this idea, it must be confessed, in the present state of things, seems rather fallacious.

The difficulty found by West-India merchants in disposing of their commodities is almost incredible; for the market is completely clogged with an excess of produce. This fearful appearance is, moreover, augmented by the dreary prospect, which affords not a single ray of hope, to enliven

their gloomy thoughts. When their bills are presented for payment, \* they are entreated to run the risk of a renewal for a few months, from the desperate hope that affairs *must* change, and that, "*forsan miseros meliora sequantur.*"

The distress of our manufacturing towns is also very great, more particularly of those, which have been in the custom of executing large orders for exportation; numbers of families are, for the present, wholly without occupation, and, consequently, without the means of subsistence. The despairing manufacturer supplicates his employer to give him a small order, to save himself and his offspring from impending ruin: whilst the unhappy merchant, unable to assist his correspondent, and fearful for his own welfare, mournfully paces round the 'Change, ruminating on the stagnation of trade, and the cruel miseries of war.

The Gazette continually teems with commissions, and each succeeding week brings us intelligence of the bankruptcy of a neighbour or a friend.

\* The non-payment of the bills of exchange, here mentioned, is caused by a dreadful deficiency of *spécie*. There may be *produce* enough to cover treble the amount; yet for this there is no sale.

The prospect of affairs in the British East-Indian dominions can hardly be considered as much more satisfactory. So far do our possessions extend, and so greatly have they been augmented by conquest, that a very considerable military force is necessary to protect them from the incursions of former occupiers; who are ever upon the watch to regain their country by violent operations. The jealousy of the native chiefs, and their dread of our growing power, induce them to keep the British residents in a state of continual apprehension: this hostility of disposition on their part, naturally, as it is to be imagined, produces recrimination; and, notwithstanding the intervals of tranquillity which our journals mention with such delight, the growing enmity of the natives towards the Europeans, affords no very pleasing subject of consideration. It is, moreover, to be feared, that British officers are inclined to rely more upon their troops for security, than upon pacific negotiations; nay, some have even endeavoured to excite commotions among such of the natives as were attached to our cause, by an act of incredible and impardonable caprice—an attempt to alter the usual modes of the Sepoy troops.—No nation that overshadows the habit-



able world is more bigotted to its religious ceremonies, and to the manners of its ancestors, than are the Indian tribes. Their form of worship, in many respects the counterpart of Mahomedanism, enjoins frequent ablution and particular care of the beard ; which latter, like the ancient Romans, they preserve as an ornament and a testimony of manhood.

Of their prowess in war, the French have had indisputable proofs ; of their meek and quiet disposition, we are ourselves convinced by daily experience.—If, then, they are thus religiously scrupulous, why promote innovations, the indisputable source of contention?—If they are well disposed towards us, why abuse their friendship?—If they are willing and submissive, why thus wantonly offend them?—If they are intrepid in the field of battle, why provoke their indignation? That it is our interest at this critical period, when we are at variance with so many states, to conciliate the affections of contemporaries, by every concession, which does not militate against reason, and national honor, no sensible man can for a moment pretend to doubt : and I respectfully defy the most ingenious sophist to invent even a colourable pretext, for our involving an inoffensive people in the horrors of

superstitious contention, to gratify the caprice of a few individuals. Liberty has no warmer constituent, no truer friend, than liberal Toleration; nay, the amazing wealth and power of England can alone be attributed to the labours of the numerous sects, who, notwithstanding their diversity of opinion in moral and religious points, are permitted to reside with, and to participate in, the freedom of her people, without let and without molestation.

To a country employed in commerce, and environed by the ocean, a standing army is merely serviceable in repelling external invasion and preserving internal tranquillity. It can add little or nothing to the state by conquest; and even that little, on account of its distance from the main land, will be difficult to defend. In former times, when the valour of a Richard, a Henry, or an Edward, triumphed over confederated nations, and when, by their *single-handed* exertions, they nobly asserted the superiority of the English arms; surrounding provinces viewed, with astonishment and dismay, the achievements of a people, in numbers so evidently inferior. But—recent expeditions convince us, alas! too fatally, that, whatever may be the intrinsic value of modern troops, their commanders frequently neglect to acquire those

requisites of a military life, which can alone ensure success : judgment and foresight in council, intrepidity in the field of battle, and wisdom to provide against the uncertainties of war. In our Egyptian enterprize, ignominy has accompanied the British armaments, defeat has tarnished the glory of our arms ; and the haughty cities, which formerly trembled at our approach, now hold their puny adversaries in deserved contempt ; whilst the shade of Nelson turns aside in mournful silence, from those regions, where, at the interval of a few transient years, he fought, and bled, and conquered.

In the plains of South America .... but, let not the dire disgrace be blazoned by a Briton to the world's enquiring eye : let it not be said, that the descendants of those, who in ancient days shook to their very centres, the thrones of France and Spain, are now baffled in their best attempts, inconsiderate in their maturest plans, and humiliated in the very chosen scene of action. When selfish interest shall meet with due contempt, and real desert receive its merited rewards, then, and then only, can the British army again rise to that due pre-eminence, from which it has of late so rapidly and, to speak out, so very *unjustifiably* declined.

That the wooden walls of Old England have been, and ever will be, her best bulwarks, no

Englishman surely can deny ; and when we consider the superior advantages of our navy, we need not be astonished if its celebrity remain for ever unexampled.

The extensive Northern trade in which this country is engaged, necessarily employs a considerable number of mariners, and may be justly deemed the grand nursery of seamen. The dangers and hardships attached to this branch of commerce admirably qualify men for a naval life, by instructing them in the rudiments of navigation ; and tend also to inspire them with that undaunted disposition, which uniformly characterizes true British sailors. Habituated to conquest, their honor becomes far dearer to them even than life. This noble idea supports and animates them, through the most hazardous undertakings. “ Their eyes are like flames of fire, and roll in search of the foes of the land : Their mighty hands are on their swords, and lightning pours from their sides of steel. Bright are the chiefs of battle, in the armour of their fathers.”—OSSIAN.

And now, that maritime topics are the subjects of consideration, it may not seem irrelevant to introduce a few words upon an occurrence, which has afforded a wide field for argument, **THE SEIZURE OF THE DANISH NAVY.** Those,

who are hostile to the measure, and look upon it as impolitic and unjust, are inclined to assimilate the plan adopted by government upon the occasion, with that proposed by Themistocles for the aggrandizement of Athens.\*—But, the allusion does not seem justly to apply. The Grecian republic was possessed of a vast territory, strengthened by numerous confederates, and thus enabled to maintain her respectability by land, without any augmentation of her naval power : Maritime dominion could, therefore, be considered only as an object of ambition ; and though the dignity of the state might have been augmented thereby, its real interest would not have been very materially promoted. With respect to England, the difference of local situation reverses these considerations. As an island, nothing but a numerous fleet can protect her com-

- \* Themistocles had formed a design of setting fire to the fleet of the other Grecian states, which was at that time in a neighbouring port, and thus of insuring to Athens the unrivalled sovereignty of the seas. Aristides, however, who had been appointed to decide upon the utility and justice of the experiment, disdained the proposal of Themistocles, and assured the Athenian people, that it was highly advantageous to the state, but at the same time that nothing could be more unjust or dishonourable. The plan was rejected.

See the *Moniteur* for the 1st Nov. 1807.

merce, defend her shores, and insure to her a due balance of power amongst contemporary nations. To obtain these desirable ends, it becomes a measure of prime necessity to depress the strength of every enemy by sea ; lest, having once lost the ascendancy, England should also, eventually, lose her liberty. When two rival states contend for the mastery, each generally feels itself bound by the law of nature and of honour, ‘ that tie of kings,’ to the performance of reciprocal acts of generosity, provided they do not militate against the interests of the party by whom they are displayed. Would to heaven that this long-protracted war could be thus carried on !—But, when we have to struggle with an adversary affected neither by justice, religion, nor humanity, equally regardless of the law of nations and the law of God, a man, whose fixed resolve it is, to defend by blood that crown which he has by blood obtained ; then it becomes the paramount duty of the legislature, if possible, to foil him by the use even of his own savage weapons, and to ensnare him in the trap laid by himself for others. Far be it from any executive power, to whose direction this land now is, or may hereafter be consigned, to countenance unwarranted tyranny and oppression ; yet, let our rulers beware, lest by grasping at a shadow they lose the substance : lest, by an unnecessary

superabundance of political scruples, they sacrifice the interests of the people to idle punctilio, and suffer treachery, deceit, and fraud, to triumph over those who have undauntedly borne up, alas! perhaps, too long, by fair and open opposition, against a weighty and encresing pressure of calumny and chicanery.

Captique dolis,  
Quos neque Tydides, nec Larissæus Achilles,  
Non anni domuere decem, non mille carinæ.

As, however, the narrow limits of this essay will not admit a continued series of argument, to more able disputants it must now be left, to decide upon the expediency or impropriety of encouraging the maxim, "*Necessitas non habet leges.*"

By the Act of Union, Ireland is, in a political view, more closely united, if possible, to the sister kingdom than she was before; from her we receive many articles of provision and apparel, (particularly linen) which bring in a considerable yearly revenue; by her our navy is partly victualled, and in the event of an invasion, (admitting that as a mere supposition, which experience has proved to be practicable,) she would be able, from her vicinity, to become an invaluable friend or a deadly foe. Notwithstanding this, it has excited just astonishment, that so little care

should be taken to conciliate the affections of the Irish people. They, indeed, as subjects of the British crown, participate in the admirable system of laws, by which their brethren in England are governed and protected ; yet, from their general poverty and ignorance, that Code is frequently misapplied to their detriment ; and the great wretchedness of their situation, in many respects, (known only to those who have visited the interior of that country,) prevents them from obtaining effectual, if indeed they gain any, relief.

The English people, with a generosity peculiar to themselves, hasten to alleviate the distresses as well of their fellow-subjects, as of aliens and strangers. Not an inhabitant is there of the continental states, who, beholding the miserable condition of his own country, does not ardently wish he had been born in this land of Freedom ; not a nation is there, throughout the known habitable world, that has not in its turn experienced the warmth of British hearts. Yet, though ever ready to console the distress of foreign climes, we do not, I fear, take quite an equal interest in the welfare of those, whom a superiority of power has placed under our own immediate dominion, and who are consequently intitled to our more immediate protection.



The Irish peasantry, in the vicinity of large towns, may possibly enjoy some small share of the comforts of life, but the fate of those who inhabit the interior, is beyond a doubt extremely different.\* Many persons of distinction, from various ostensible reasons, declining to reside upon their estates, the management of their property must necessarily devolve upon stewards and underlings, who too often abuse the authority vested in them, and oppress the vassals of their lords, to forward their own views.

An Irish peasant is seldom sufficiently fortunate to obtain a lease of his humble dwelling; and, therefore, should he unfortunately offend his superior, he is exposed to the chance of being turned out, with all his helpless family, at a moment's notice, into the wide and uncharitable world. Live stock he can seldom rear, and even if he is so successful as to obtain a small quantity, little or no advantage will accrue to himself from it. His rent, however exorbitant, must be regularly discharged; nay, even presents are also required, as a propitiatory sacrifice to the superintendant. Moreover, this race of men are, from the very tenure of their holdings, kept in a state of vassalage and dependance; nor is it an

\* It is well known, that there are no poor's rates in Ireland.

uncommon case to give the peasant immediate notice to quit his home, should he perchance refuse to leave his little spot of ground uncultivated in the sowing season, or hesitate to desert his corn in harvest time, for the purpose of labouring at his lord's private manor. From this line of conduct, proceeds also another serious evil. The Irish peasant, holding only as tenant at will, has no stimulative to industry ; for he is fully sensible that the encreasing fertility of his land will induce the landlord, or at least his subordinate agent, to raise his yearly payment. And, here be it observed with reluctance, that some unfeeling masters, to gratify an unpardonable spirit of avarice, will occasionally take advantage of a legal quibble to invalidate a lease granted by their predecessors, in order that a poor farmer may be dispossessed, and a more wealthy person introduced in his stead.—The pitiable situation to which peasants are thus frequently reduced, drives them to desperation, and oftentimes urges them to some notorious dereliction of their duty.

In consequence of the dreadful mischiefs committed by the Rebel hands, it has, at times, been deemed expedient to enforce martial law ; and, by severe recrimination, the Royalists and the Insurgents have laid waste the face of the land.

Nothing but an alteration of the system at present in vogue, and due encouragement on the part of the landholder, can restore Ireland to tranquillity, prosperity, and happiness.

It has been imagined, though ignorantly, that a difference of religious opinion is the principal cause of discontent amongst the lower orders of the Irish, and that their priests, unfurling the bloody banner of contention, in imitation of the ancient Druids, inspire their followers with a degree of enthusiasm, which induces them to brave the most terrific dangers. Let not the public mind be thus sadly misled. It appears, that the Irish peasantry, if treated with common humanity, are obliging and inoffensive; and, though naturally of a hasty disposition, ever ready to forgive. The free exercise of their religious tenets, and the uninterrupted possession of their little cabins, are all they desire. Grant them but these, and tumult will cease, and Anarchy from henceforth "hide her diminished head."—It is much safer, observes an ancient author, to *reconcile* an enemy than to *conquer* him. VICTORY deprives him of his POWER, but RECONCILIATION of his WILL, and there is less danger in a *will which will not hurt*, than a *power which cannot*; and a modern author has, with equal justice and truth, remarked that *preven-*

*tion* is better than *cure*. Far be it from my intention to assert, that, through the negligence of any individual administration, or through the default of any particular age, the subjects of the British empire, whose state is now under consideration, are thus uncomfortably situated. The amelioration of their circumstances must be a work of time. In the interim, may these few observations of a plain man engage the serious attention of his countrymen. Let not the lord abuse his servant; for it is possible, as melancholy experience continually demonstrates, that *he may fall below him*. There should be a mutuation of good offices, between the chief and his vassals. He should assist them with necessities, and they should serve him in his pleasures and conveniences. Gratitude will strongly urge that man to obey and to defend his master, who has received from him justice, kindness, and liberality: but uproar and rebellion will ever prove, in a land of brave men, the reluctant concomitants of imperious and unlimited oppression.

Having, thus, taken a summary view of THE STATE OF BRITAIN, *abroad*, in her political capacity, free from all unnecessary impediments of argument and detail; we now proceed to examine her STATE, *at home*, in her domestic œconomy. It has been laid down, and

apparently with no small degree of national satisfaction, that the present times, if considered generally, are not more degenerate than were preceding ages. This statement, however, lies undoubtedly exposed to much opposition. True, indeed, it is, that the people of this country are not harassed by the extravagant follies and cruel enormities of a Domitian, a Caligula, or any other of the debauched emperors, whose licentiousness destroyed the tranquillity of ancient Rome ; nor is the present executive power obstructed, in the discharge of its peculiarly important functions, by a dissatisfied and tumultuous democracy. On the contrary, the rights of the people and the privileges of the sovereign are, if possible, more carefully defined and defended, and the practice of social duties are more strictly enjoined, than they ever were at any former period. Under the mild guidance of a venerable monarch, whom his subjects, with the greatest reason, admire and esteem, ENGLAND, must, at this moment, surely appear to the most superficial observer, an object equally deserving the envy and the awe of surrounding nations. But, with no less truth than reluctance, be it remarked, that, however undauntedly she may be enabled to repel the assaults of external invaders, in whatever degree, she may have hitherto

experienced the favours of Omnipotence, yet, too sufficient reason, alas ! has she to dread the fearful attacks of an insidious internal foe, that preys upon her very vitals:—I would intimate, IMMORALITY.

'Tis like the stream, beside whose watery bed  
Some blooming plant exalts his flowery head;  
Nursed by the wave, the spreading branches rise,  
Shade all the ground, and flourish to the skies:  
The waves, the while, beneath in secret flow,  
And undermine the hollow bank below:  
Wide and more wide the waters urge their way,  
Bare all the roots, and on their fibres prey.  
Too late the plant bewails his foolish pride,  
And sinks, untimely, in the whelming tide.

WEST, *ad Amicos.*

Deep and unbounded must be the concern of every honest, reflecting mind, to mark our peerless countrywomen led astray from their innate conceptions of propriety and decorum, by an inexplicable partiality to foreigners, and their pernicious maxims. Like the victorious army of Hannibal, in the effeminate regions of Capua, we seem to have assumed, with their spoils, the vices of our conquered adversaries. Nay, even British soldiers have, at last, abandoned the attire of our brave forefathers, for the more gaudy and frivolous habiliments of continental troops; nor are they now

ashamed to disgrace their country, by servilely adopting the uniform of fallen foes.

The humanity of our legislature has, it is true, spread wide the gates of this hospitable land, and invited those whom the furious proscriptions of sanguinary demagogues drove from their homes, to enter in and partake its bounties; but was it ever intended that these aliens should controul its domestic regulations? Could it ever be imagined, that the English people would deign to cherish the absurdities of French and Italian modes, despising their country, and its long established customs? those very customs, which have, in the most perilous times, enabled it to assert and maintain its independence?—To receive laws or rules of conduct from them, what is it, but to confess ourselves INFERIOR to them?

Mature deliberation will, it is to be feared, convince us that the follies here scrutinized and condemned, have their origin principally with the higher orders of society, whose rank and fortune enable them to live in a style of splendid indolence; whilst their poorer, though sometimes far happier fellow-creatures, are, in a great degree, removed from danger and temptation, by the daily pursuit of those necessities, which are absolutely requisite for their subsistence.

The total deficiency of employment drives the fashionable man to the horse-course or the gaming-table,

ludere doctior,  
Sed Græco jubeas trocho,  
Sed malis vetitâ legibus aleâ :

and the female votary of dissipation, with equal irrationality, dedicates her whole time to the momentous concerns of her toilet, the visit, the ball, and the rout.

Habitual idleness inevitably produces evil dispositions; and these, unless eradicated by the forcible assistance of RELIGION, too frequently extend their growth to the suppression of all virtuous principle, and progressively lead the mind into the extremes of impropriety, indecorum, and immorality.

To its nobles, the English Nation,—a people peculiarly protected by Heaven, dreaded by its enemies, and respected by all mankind,—looks up with just confidence, as to its principal directors. Upon their judgment and example, in a great measure, depend its safety, its happiness, and its prosperity. In consideration, therefore, of the high station in which they are placed, it becomes the subject of DUTY no less than of INTEREST, for them conscientiously and zeal-



ously to discharge the important requisites of their respective callings: especially, let the higher orders of society, of whatever sex or condition, (as personages, from whom, on account of their superiority, we expect a good and great example) endeavour individually, as well as collectively, to stem the torrent of iniquity that now threatens our destruction.

Be it their glorious aim to check the rapid advances of vice, and to take warning from the situation of such ex-nobles of a neighbouring country, as are reduced by their own folly to undergo the pity or contempt of mankind. Thus continuing to act, they may rest assured, that neither the sneers nor the calumnious aspersions of their enemies, domestic or foreign, will be able, in the slightest degree, to affect their honour, their integrity, or the ir peace. "Next to the example of persons on the throne," observes a religious author of celebrity,\* "that of the peer is the most alluring and efficacious. It diffuses its effects, not merely amongst those who are admitted to his society, but is propagated from one knot of imitators to another, and spreads through the adjoining country far and wide. The pattern which he exhibits, has a

\* Gisborne.

prevailing influence in deciding, whether vanity and pride shall be deemed honourable or disgraceful: whether the tide of extravagance, luxury and dissipation, shall be quickened or retarded; whether useful plans and institutions shall meet with countenance or neglect; whether industry, morality, and religion, shall flourish or decline; whether unassuming merit shall be encouraged, or its recompence be intercepted by SHAMELESS IGNORANCE, and accommodating, perhaps brilliant, vice. Viewing all his proceedings in this light, let a nobleman be careful, not for his own sake only, but for the sake also of SOCIETY, that the influence of virtue and RELIGION be not diminished by his example."

The most powerful preventative, however, of morality in this great city, is the incredible number of unfortunate women, whom their own ungovernable affections, or the perfidy of man, have reduced to a state of unparalleled indigence and depravity. It was an indisputable stroke of policy, and, to a degree, of humanity, in the French government, to enroll the names of the Parisian *Filles de Joye*, and to appropriate a particular portion of the city for their residence; thereby preserving tranquillity amongst the well inclined members of the community, and forming an admirable scheme for the suppres-

sion of any tumults, that might arise in the dwellings of the profligate. But, surely, it would be incompatible with the pure principles of Christianity professed in these realms, were the legislature thus openly to countenance and sanction a system of criminality, however its protection and controul might be deemed politically advantageous.

Delicate are the sensations of the female heart, its passions are strong, and its attachments firm. Unpractised in deceit, and conscious of innate purity, in the outset of life, it often judges too charitably of others, till it be itself most barbarously deceived. Since, then, the sense of kindness or injury is thus wonderfully keen, how virulent must be the emotions of rage, horror, and despair, when confidence is betrayed! The unfortunate victim of Seduction finds herself, on a sudden, a wretched hopeless outcast; driven from all her kindred and friends, forsaken by *him*, for whom she had sacrificed her maiden honour; and, from the very summit of felicity, cast headlong into the lowest abyss of human ignominy. Famine, the inevitable companion of penury, assails her in all its terrors, and she becomes reduced to the melancholy necessity of obtaining sustenance, even her daily bread, from the precarious bounty of the brutal libertine, or

the enfeebled debauchee. By degrees, her immortal mind becomes callous to her pitiable situation; she essays to drown the unwelcome monitor, reflection, in repeated draughts of deadly poison: till from those fair lips, which might have given sweet lessons of morality to an innocent and endearing offspring, proceed the foulest imprecations and the most horrid blasphemy. Exposed to the blasts of inclement seasons, and the fury of the pitiless storm, though smiles may still deck her pale countenance, yet the canker-worm that dieth not, incessantly corrodes her heart. Destitute of religious consolation, and alone actuated by the secret workings of revenge, the loveliness of woman is finally lost in the sullen malignity of a fiend.

Her hand will, henceforth, be against every man: for, alas! every man's hand is raised against her. Woe to the unworthy traveller that listens to the abandoned syren! for her ways lead to destruction, and her paths unto the grave! \*—

But, to return to stupendous National scenes.—The fate of Prussia has already engaged our attention.—Her power has fallen, as it were, in the twinkling of an eye; her nobles are fettered, her monarch is an exile; her subjects are slain, her

\* Proverbs, Chap. ii, verses 18, 19.

towers levelled with the earth, her RELIGION lies half buried beneath the ruins of her altars. The tenets of Calvin and Luther have given way to the decrees of an atheistical conqueror, the primary object of whose novel system of legislation, civil and divine, seems to be, unlimited allegiance to Himself.

The Papal dominion, so long the fountain head of cruelty and superstition, exists no more, or languishes towards its dissolution. Neither does the tinkling bell announce the accustomed hour of matins and of vespers, nor are the gloomy chambers of the cloister disturbed by loud chaunts and midnight requiems.

Oblivion's awful storms resound :

The massy columns fall around :

The fabric totters to the ground,

And darkness veils its memory ! \*

The iron crown of Italy decorates the brow of a Corsican despot, whilst Turkish slaves, distracted by internal convulsions, have been unable to protect even the shrine of Mahomet from profanation. Peace and Liberty have fled terrified from the bloody scene of desolation, and Charity sits vainly weeping over the picture, which Truth enjoins her to design. Albion alone still frowns defiance upon her foes ; still braves

\* Peacock.

the fury of the storm. Confidently trusting to Providence for the arrival of better days, she proudly contemns the empty threats of a confederated world. The advantages, which our matchless land derives from the maintenance of RELIGION, are equally great, in a moral and in a political sense.

To the lower orders of society, a sense of RELIGION is indispensably necessary, in order that, being left to their own guidance, at an age when youth is most in need of a preceptor, they may learn, from public worship, the relative duties between man and man :—that they may have a permanent source of consolation in the hour of distress, when perhaps no human saving hand is near ; and that, being dependent on the more immediate bounty of heaven for their subsistence, they may pay a more immediate tribute of adoration to that Almighty power, which alone can afford them a continuation of what little they may have, and a supply of the additional articles they may want.

To the middling classes, a sense of RELIGION is highly necessary, that, from their extensive connections both at home and in foreign climes, (exclusive of the due performance of domestic and social duties) they may most scrupulously

observe the greatest sincerity and good-will : and being, as it were, that independent part of the constitution, which contributes to preserve its wonderful equilibrium, that they may jealously resist every attempted abridgment of their known rights ; and yet, at the same time, forbear to intrude on the monarchial and aristocratical systems.

To the higher rank of Britons, a sense of RELIGION is most essentially necessary ; that, by virtue of their authority, they may use their very best exertions to support the permanent interests and real dignity of the state : that they may employ the abundance of their riches in aid of their distressed fellow creatures, that, by their political abilities they may invariably endeavour to conciliate the people with the sovereign ; and, by their own irreproachable deportment, may set a worthy example to their equals and inferiors ; remembering, always, the solemn assurances of a most able and enlightened statesman : “ All  
 “ who administer in the government of men, in  
 “ which they stand in the *person* of God *himself*,  
 “ should have high and worthy notions of their  
 “ functions and destination : their hope should  
 “ be full of immortality : they should not look  
 “ to the paltry pelf of the moment, nor to the

temporary and transient praise of the vulgar, but to a solid permanent existence, in the permanent part of their nature, and to a permanent fame and glory in the example they leave, as a rich inheritance to the world.”\*

\* BURKE. *On the French Revolution.*

FINIS.





**BRITAIN**  
.  
**INDEPENDENT OF**  
**COMMERCE.**



**BRITAIN**  
**INDEPENDENT OF COMMERCE;**  
**OR,**  
**PROOFS,**  
**DEDUCED FROM AN INVESTIGATION INTO**  
**THE TRUE CAUSES**  
**OF**  
**THE WEALTH OF NATIONS,**  
**THAT**  
**OUR RICHES, PROSPERITY, AND POWER,**  
**ARE DERIVED FROM**  
**SOURCES INHERENT IN OURSELVES,**  
**AND**  
**WOULD NOT BE AFFECTED,**  
**EVEN THOUGH,**  
**OUR COMMERCE WERE ANNIHILATED.**

**BY WILLIAM SPENCE, F. L. S.**

**THE FOURTH EDITION, CORRECTED AND ENLARGED.**

**"When the affairs of the society are once brought to this situation, a nation may lose most of its foreign trade, and yet continue a great and powerful people."**

**HUME.**

**LONDON:**

**PRINTED BY W. SAVAGE, BEDFORD BURY,**  
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**1808.**



## ADVERTISEMENT.

Owing to the haste with which this work was originally written, under the idea that the state of things which seemed to call for it, would probably be of no long duration, a few slight inaccuracies escaped observation ; and the chain of reasoning, in some places, is not so strong as it might be. These defects I have endeavoured to remedy in the present edition. Some additional notes, also, are inserted, applicable to existing circumstances ; and in particular, the abundant resources which offer themselves for the employment of those manufacturers who may be deprived of occupation by the loss of our export trade, are pointed out more distinctly than before.

January, 1808.

“The commerce and manufactures of this island, conceal in some measure its agricultural grandeur; of which we may not, perhaps, obtain a full view, unless this splendid superstructure of our present prosperity, mouldering away, from the fragility of the materials, or shattered by external violence, shall expose the strength and extent of the base on which it rested.”

EDINBURGH REVIEW, Vol. V. p. 204.

## BRITAIN INDEPENDENT, &c.

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BUONAPARTE agreeably to his usual custom of heaping abuse upon those he cannot seriously injure, as the most cutting appellation, which his Billingsgate common-place-book presented to him, has given us the title of a nation of shopkeepers. He judged rightly, that we should be more indignant at such an appellation, than if he had called us a nation of knaves, or of fools ; for, though the age of chivalry be gone, and other professions than that of arms are now deemed honourable, still there is something contemptible attached to the idea of trade, which makes those engaged in it, willing enough to have their occupation kept in the back ground. Yet though we affect to be offended with this title, our words and our actions evince, that we are neither willing nor able to deny, that it is given to us with justice. Out of a hundred persons with whom you converse, ninety-nine will maintain, that all our greatness is derived from our commerce, and that our ruin will be inevitable when it declines in any great degree. And such opinions you will hear, not only from the ignorant vulgar, not merely from the manufacturer, or merchant, whose individual interest naturally inclines him to such a belief, but from the man of literature and science, from the proprietor of land, from the statesman. When our enemy threatened us with invasion about two years since, and had more leisure for giving a colour of reality to his



threats that he has now, it was common to hear those who disbelieved that he would make the attempt, reason in this way ;—" Buonaparté knows what he is about. He will never invade us ; but by putting us to vast expense in precautionary preparations, and at the same time, by stopping up almost every channel of our commerce, he is aware that he is doing us the most serious injury possible, and if he succeeds in cutting off our trade, God knows he will soon effect our ruin." We see, too, the deep-rooted influence of this opinion, in the rapture with which we hail any new opening for our commercial speculations. Thus, the recent conquest in South America has been valued, not on account of any military glory which we have gained by its capture, not because its acquisition has done any serious injury to our enemy, but because the vivid imaginations of all ranks of people, picture in its possession an extensive mart for broadcloth and for hardware. It would be endless to cite examples of the importance attached to our commerce by our statesmen. If we examine any of their speeches on the prosperity of the nation for fifty years past, we shall find them constantly dwelling with the greatest exultation on the amount of our imports and exports ; and in every enumeration of national wealth, placing commerce in the foreground.

Now it must be confessed, that all this anxiety for trade, seems to justify the obnoxious title, which our adversary has given us ; for they, who regard the acquisition of new customers as the greatest good, and the loss of old ones as the greatest evil, that can befall them, it must be allowed are considerably imbued with the true spirit of shopkeeping. Yet, although my countrymen have not the art to conceal how much they are influenced by the groveling notions derived from the desk and the counter, it would be a libel upon them not to presume, that their ideas of the importance of trade are founded upon a conviction of their truth ; a conviction

which is painful to them, and which they have adopted with reluctance. Certainly no very pleasing reflections can occupy the mind of that Briton, who is impressed with the belief, that his country's greatness, the high rank she at present holds amongst nations, and her eventual existence, depend on circumstances, which it is in the power of a thousand accidents to render unfavourable to her. Every day brings to his view fresh evidence of the precarious footing on which our commerce rests. The idea, which a few years ago would have been laughed at, that any man could acquire the power of shutting the whole Continent against our trade, is now realized. Already all the Continent, is subject to the mandates of our enemy, or implicitly subservient to his views. America, too, one of the principal of our customers, has merely suspended her prohibition of our commercial intercourse with her, and loudly threatens positive hostility; so that we are nearly excluded from the two most important quarters of the globe. Even if Buonaparté were by some favourable occurrence obliged to give up his scheme of excluding us from the Continent, and our disputes with America be compromised, still the idea is most humiliating and distressing, if our commerce be really the source of our vigour, of our very life, that the continuance of this commerce is dependent on events wholly out of our power to control, and such as are more likely to be against us than in our favour.

There can be no doubt then, if such be the painful nature of those opinions, which resolve our greatness into our commerce, that all those who hold such opinions, would be highly gratified to have their fallacy proved to them. They would doubtless be rejoiced to have it convincingly made out, that our greatness is independent of our commerce, and that our glory and our prosperity need not suffer diminution, even though we had infinitely less trade than we have. Even our merchants and our manu-

facturers, much as they are individually interested in the continuance of commerce, as patriots, must listen with satisfaction to any arguments which should set their minds at rest, as to the stability of our wealth and our power. And surely the proprietor of land, of funded property, indeed all who are not individually interested in the continuance of trade, would be delighted, if they could be convinced, that their country, and the stake they have in it, are independent of the threats of an emperor, or the caprice of a republic; and that though Europe and America, Asia and Africa, were to resolve never more to use an article of British manufacture, still this favoured isle has the means within herself, not merely of retaining the high rank which she possesses, but of progressively going on in her career of prosperity and of power.

The author of these pages has long been satisfied, that the importance of our commerce has been greatly overrated; he has long indeed been convinced, that the wealth we derive from it is nothing; that the utility of by far the greater part of it, is to be resolved into its power of procuring for us certain luxuries, which we could do very well without, and in exchange for which we give much more valuable necessaries: and consequently, that our riches, our greatness, and our happiness, are independent of it. These convictions, however singular and unconformable to the public voice, have been sources of great mental gratification to him. While his fellow countrymen have heard the news of the shutting up of a port against us with terror and dismay, and have regarded our exclusion from commerce with Hamburg, with Holland, and with Italy, as the almost sure precursor of national ruin, he, persuaded of the fallacy of these fears, has looked upon these events with indifference; and has rather been inclined to pity the poor inhabitants of the countries, who are prevented from buying our manufactures, than us that are hindered from selling them.

Such being his sentiments, he is desirous of laying the grounds of them before the public; to the end, that tried by such a touchstone, their truth, or their error, may be made apparent; wishing, if the former, that the diffusion of just ideas, on an important subject, may lead his countrymen to more manly views of their independence; and if the latter, that his own erroneous notions may be rectified, and that no longer buoyed up, by the delusions of indifference, he may sympathize with the hopes and fears of his fellow men.

IN investigating the present subject, it will be necessary previously to inquire into the opinions which have been held relative to the real sources of wealth and prosperity to a nation, and we shall then be able to apply the results deduced from such an examination to our own case. And, in the first place, the meaning of the terms, wealth and prosperity, must be settled; for, if the reader were to take these words in their usual acceptation, if he were to conclude, that by the first is meant gold and silver merely, and by the latter extensive dominion, powerful armies, &c. he would be affixing to these terms meanings very different from those which are here meant to be annexed to them, and ideas, which, however common, are founded in error. Spain has plenty of gold and silver, yet she has no wealth; while Britain is wealthy with scarcely a guinea: and France, with her numerous conquests, her extended influence, and her vast armies, is probably not enjoying much prosperity; certainly not nearly so much as we enjoy, though we have far less influence, and much smaller armies than she has. Wealth, then, is defined to consist *in abundance of capital, of cultivated and productive land, and of those things which man usually esteems valuable.* Thus a country where a large proportion of the inhabitants have accumulated

## *Britain Independent*

fortunes; where much of the soil is productively cultivated, and yields a considerable revenue to the land-owner, may be said to be wealthy: and on the contrary, a nation where few of the inhabitants are possessed of property, and where the land is badly cultivated, and yields but little revenue to the proprietor, may be truly said to be poor. Britain is an example of the first state, Spain and Italy of the last. A nation may be said to be in prosperity, *which is progressively advancing in wealth, where the checks to population are few, and where employment and subsistence are readily found for all classes of its inhabitants.* It does not follow, that a prosperous nation must be wealthy; thus America, though enjoying great prosperity, has not accumulated wealth. Nor does it follow, that because a nation possesses wealth, it is therefore in a state of prosperity. All those symptoms of wealth which have been enumerated, may exist, and yet a nation may in prosperity be retrograding, its wealth may be stationary, its population kept at a stand, and the difficulty of getting employment for those who seek it, may be becoming greater and greater every day.

Such being the meaning affixed to the terms wealth and prosperity, let us inquire what are their sources.

The political economists who have investigated the sources of wealth, may be divided into two great classes\*; of which one may be termed the mercantile sect, and may be considered as including almost all the authors who have written on this subject, as well as almost all who talk upon it: the other, the agricultural sect, the principles of which, though as old as Aristotle, were first systematically promulgated

\* I do not, in this place, advert to the opinions of Dr. Adam Smith; because, though he regards commerce as productive of some wealth, he values it infinitely below both agriculture and the home trade. Indeed, as a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* (Vol. IV. p. 357.) has justly observed, "The principles of Dr. Smith clearly carry him to the theory of the mercantile; and in order to be consistent, he ought, unquestionably, to reckon Agriculture the *only* productive employment of capital or labour."

by Mons. Quesnai, and others, in France, who have been generally known by the name of the French Economists, and who have had at any time but few followers.

The mercantile sect contend, that commerce and manufactures are by far the greatest, if not the sole sources of wealth, and for proofs of the truth of this opinion, they refer you to Tyre, Carthage, Venice, Holland,—states, which by their commerce, with very little territorial possession, attained acknowledged wealth;—and to those who are actively engaged in these employments, to the merchant and the manufacturer, whose riches are proverbial. Impressed with this conviction, this sect has consistently advised the most active encouragement of commerce and manufactures, by every means possible. In behalf of the former, it has procured monopolies, restrictions, or bounties, as seemed best likely to answer the end; and in favour of the latter, it has even been thought politic to oppress the agricultural branch of industry; and the farmer has for a very long period been prohibited from exporting his wool, to the end, that the manufacturer might purchase it on terms lower than what might be obtained from other nations.

The agricultural sect, or the followers of the French Economists, on the other hand, maintain, that the only source of wealth to a nation is agriculture. They deny that any wealth is derived from the fabrication of manufactures, and they allow but little to be derived from commerce; and in support of these singular opinions, they thus reason: The farmer, say they, out of the produce of the land which he cultivates, besides maintaining his family, pays to the owner of his land a net surplus, under the name of rent. This surplus must be regarded as clear profit; for it remains after every expense attending the cultivation of the land is repaid, and is, in fact, a new creation of matter which did not before exist. Now it will be seen, that no

such surplus, or net profit, attends the labour of the manufacturer. Though he certainly must be allowed, by means of his industry, to add considerably to the value of the materials he works upon, yet this value is not greater than the value of his subsistence, during the time he has been employed in adding this additional value; and whatever profit may be drawn by the sale of such manufactures, will be found merely to be a transfer of property from one to another, and in no case to add to the sum of national wealth. This may be made evident by the consideration of an illustrative example: A lace maker, for instance, may, by means of a year's labour, convert a pound of flax, worth one shilling, into lace worth ten pounds. In this case, says the disciple of the mercantile sect, the nation is richer by this man's labour to the amount of the additional value conferred upon the flax. Through his industry, nearly, ten pounds have been added to the wealth of the nation. But this the Economist denies. The lace manufacturer, he says, must, during the year he was employed in manufacturing his lace, have drawn his subsistence from somewhere, and as in all countries the labouring class derives but a bare subsistence from its labour, he must in this period have consumed a quantity of food equal in value to ten pounds. Thus then we have gained lace worth ten pounds, but food has been expended to the same amount, so that no profit has been the result of this manufacturing industry. All that can be conceded in favour of the manufacturer is, that he has fixed or transmuted the value of a perishable article into one more durable. He has converted ten pound's worth of corn, into ten pound's worth of lace. Even if we suppose, that the master manufacturer, he who furnishes subsistence to the labouring manufacturer, of whom we have been speaking, until his work was finished, were to affix to this lace an additional value of 5*l.* if he were to sell it for 15*l.* still this would be no creation of wealth to the nation; for precisely

what he gained, the consumer of the lace would lose; a transfer of wealth, therefore, not a creation of it, would ensue. If he, to whom the lace was sold, had bought it for 10*l.* the exact price which it cost, he would then have been richer by the 5*l.* which on the contrary supposition, would have gone to the master manufacturer; but it is plain, the nation would not have been less wealthy, in consequence of 5*l.* being in one man's pocket, rather than in that of another. The same reasoning is applied by the Economists to every species of manufacture, the increased value of which, they contend, may in every case be resolved into the subsistence of the labouring manufacturer, and the profit of his employer.

Foreign commerce is of two kinds, commerce of import and of export. Whatever a nation imports, it pays an equivalent for, to the country of which it is purchased: whence, then, say the Economists, springs any wealth from this branch of commerce? But, inquire the disciples of the mercantile sect, do not those who import goods, sell them for more than they give for them, and is not their profit an increase of national wealth? The Economist replies, No; for in this case, as in that of the master manufacturer, whatever is gained by the merchant, is lost by the consumer of the articles he deals in, and whether he sells for a profit or for none, is indifferent as to its effect on the wealth of the nation. If a merchant imports sugar, for which he has given 1000*l.* it is plain, that the wealth of the nation is not increased by having 1000*l.* worth of sugar, rather than so much money, or so much of any other article that may have been given for it. So far then, no profit attends this traffic. And if the importer sell his 1000*l.* worth of sugar for 1100*l.* is it not self evident, that this 100*l.* is derived from the consumers of this article? Whatever is his gain, is their loss, and the nation would have been just as wealthy if the sugar had been sold at its original cost.



On the principles of the Economists, however, though it may be with truth denied that any national wealth is derived from commerce of import, it must be allowed that national wealth may be derived from commerce of export. The profit of the exporter, above what the articles exported have cost, it must be granted, is, in some cases, so much profit to the nation ; yet they contend, that a very small proportion of the wealth of any nation, possessed of extensive territory, can be derived from this source, since the utmost profit which can be supposed to be gained on the exports of the most trading nation, is trifling when compared with its actual wealth. Britain, which exports more than any other country ever did, does not value her exports at more than fifty millions annually, from which there cannot possibly be more than ten millions profit derived ; a mere trifle in the wealth of a nation which every year pays upwards of six times as much in taxes.

Such being the opinions of the French Economists, it necessarily follows, that they should earnestly recommend to governments, the encouragement of agriculture above all other branches of industry. They do not absolutely advise the discouragement of manufactures and of commerce, yet, as they place these so low in the scale of causes of national wealth, they consider their existence as being of small importance, and that a country may attain the greatest possible wealth and prosperity, where both are nearly unknown.

In these varying opinions of the commercial and agricultural sects, there seems to be some truth, and some error, on both sides ; yet an attention to the facts on which the Economists build their system, stripped of the intricacy which attends every inquiry into matters of political economy, in consequence of

the custom of estimating the value of every thing in money, will probably show, that they are correct in deducing all wealth from agriculture, though they may have erred in the practical application of their system, at least, to the circumstances of European nations.

That the examination into the truth of the opinion of the French Economists, that agriculture is the only source of wealth, may be rendered as simple as possible, let us inquire what would take place in a country constituted much in the same way as this country is; where there should be a class of land proprietors, a class of farmers, and a class of manufacturers, but where there should exist no money of any kind, no gold, silver, or paper, in fact, no circulating medium whatever. In such a society, the land proprietor must receive his rent in kind, in corn, cattle, or whatever may be the produce of his land; and all transactions between man and man, must be carried on by the medium of barter. However inconvenient such a state of society might be, it may be very well conceived to exist, and has, indeed, existed in a great degree, at one period, even in our own country. In a nation so circumstanced, though part of the subsistence of the manufacturing class would be drawn from the farmer, from the profit which would remain with him after the maintenance of his family, and the rent of his landlord were deducted, yet by far the largest portion of their subsistence, it is evident, must be drawn from the class of land proprietors; from that surplus produce paid to them under the denomination of rent. It will therefore in a still greater degree simplify our illustration, if we suppose, what will in no respect influence the accuracy of our reasoning, that the whole of the subsistence of the manufacturing class must, in such a state of society, be derived from the class of land proprietors.

From this system results such as the following would ensue: the competition which would neces-

sarily take place amongst the class of manufacturers, to dispose of their articles to the land proprietors, would restrict the price of these articles, as is the case at present, to a quantity of provisions barely necessary to replace the subsistence of the manufacturer, whilst he had been employed on them. This being the case, all the articles which the manufacturer might fabricate in the course of a year, would by the end of that year, be in possession of the land proprietors, in exchange for provision. All the food which the class of land proprietors had to dispose of, would, by the industry of the class of manufacturers, be transmuted into various articles of use, or of luxury: and these remaining and accumulating with the former class, it would in time heap up great wealth, by this successive and constant transformation of its riches. None of this wealth, however, could with truth be said to have been brought into existence by the manufacturer, for, as the land proprietor had given in exchange for the produce of the manufacturer's labour, an equal value in food, which no longer remained in existence, all the merit which could justly be conceded to the latter, would be his having transmuted wealth of so perishable a nature as food, into the more durable wealth manufactures.

But it may be asked, would not the master manufacturer draw from the land proprietor, as the price of his articles, a greater quantity of food, than he had advanced to his labouring manufacturers employed in their fabrication? We may grant, that this would be the case, still, whatever might be the amount of this surplus, even were it considerably more than was necessary for his own subsistence, no wealth would be brought into existence by his profit. The master manufacturer might indeed acquire riches, by an accumulation of such profits; yet the whole of this gain would be at the expense of the land proprietors, and no addition would be made to the national wealth. An example will demonstrate this, if a coachmaker were to employ so many men

for half a year in the building of a coach, as that for their subsistence during that time, he had advanced fifty quarters of corn: if we suppose he sold this coach to a land proprietor for sixty quarters of corn, it is evident that the coachmaker would be ten quarters of corn richer, than if he had sold it for fifty quarters, its original cost. But it is equally clear, that the land proprietor would be ten quarters of corn poorer, than if he had bought his coach at its prime cost. A transfer, then, not a creation of wealth, has taken place, whatever one gains, the other loses, and the national wealth is just the same. This illustrative example will apply to every imaginable case, of the sale of manufactures fabricated and sold in our supposed society; however complex the operations they might pass through, or how many soever the number of hands employed on them. In every instance, their price would resolve itself into the amount of the food consumed during their fabrication, by the labouring manufacturer, and into the profit of the master manufacturer; the former, we have shown, is merely a conversion of one sort of wealth, into another sort of the same value, and the latter is in every case a transfer of wealth, merely, from the pocket of the buyer to that of the seller.

It may be inquired, by those who are so dazzled with the wealth gained by the manufacturer in this country, "Would he on such a system as we have imagined, acquire wealth as he does now? for if he did not, if all the wealth of the country remained with the land proprietor, this supposed state of society would be very different from the one we witness, where so many manufacturers are rich, and so many proprietors of land, poor." This query has been in part answered already; as the admission has been made, that the master manufacturer would demand a profit on the articles he had caused to be fabricated, and it is clear, that by an accumulation of these profits, he would acquire wealth. At the same time, it is not difficult to perceive, that in a society

without a circulating medium, as in a society with one, many of the class of land proprietors would be always poor. There would be found there, men whose love of grandeur and of pleasure, would lead them to spend more than every grain of their income in kind, as there are men found here, whom the same motives cause to spend more than every guinea of their revenue in money.

If the foregoing observations have convincingly shown, that in a state of society in which every transaction should be carried on by barter, all the wealth of such a nation would be created by agriculture, none by manufactures, there will not be need of further argument, to prove to the philosophical inquirer, that the very same results must take place in a society where a circulating medium is made use of. Yet as there is an idea prevalent, that the employment of a circulating medium materially affects the creation of national wealth, it will not be amiss to examine this subject a little further.

The circulating medium of civilized nations, is either gold and silver, or paper. Gold and silver are undoubtedly wealth, yet they are but a small portion of what has properly a claim to that title; and a nation which has abundance of gold and silver, is, in fact, not richer than if it had none. It has paid an equal value of some other wealth for them; and there is no good reason why it should be desirous of having this, rather than any other species of wealth; for the only superiority in value, which the precious metals possess over other products of the labour of man, is their fitness for being the instruments of circulation and exchange. But, in this point of view, the necessity of having gold or silver no longer

Experience has, in modern times, evinced, that on the promissory notes of man of an immoveable property, form a circulating medium, fully as useful, and much less expensive. No one will pretend to say, that the wealth of Great Britain consists of gold and silver, because every one knows

that these metals do not form a tythe of her circulating medium; yet multitudes will maintain, that this circulating medium, composed chiefly of paper, is a portion of national wealth. No position, however, can be more false than this. If gold and silver be but the representative of wealth, much more is all the paper in circulation, but the representative of wealth, the shadow, not the substance, nay in many cases, it is the representative of nothing,—the shadow of a shade. When the Bank of England coins a million of pounds worth of notes, does it issue them without receiving an equal value for them, or, at any rate, without having security for the amount? And when a swindling country banker, without fortune, has persuaded the surrounding country to take his notes in exchange for real property, do not his deluded customers find, to their cost, that these notes are not wealth, but merely the representative of the wealth of which they have been duped? If all those who have any paper money in possession, were to demand to be paid its value, would they be content to be paid in other paper? Would they not say, Give us gold or silver, or if you have not these, divide your property, your land, your houses, your merchandize amongst us?

Thus, then, whatever is the circulating medium, whether it be gold and silver, or paper, or both, being but the representative of wealth, there can be no difference, as to the sources of wealth, between a nation which has, and one which has not, a circulating medium; and consequently wealth can be created by the same branch of industry only, in one as in the other. Whether the manufacturer receive the price of his manufacture in food, or in money, with which he purchases food; whether he sell his articles directly to the land proprietors, or to any other class in society: whatever be the complexity of transactions, resulting from the intricacy consequent upon a circulating medium; if the whole be fairly analyzed, and every thing traced to its source,

it will in every case be found, in the most refined, as in the most barbarous state of society, that agriculture is the great source of national wealth, manufactures merely a transmutation of wealth of one description, into that of another.

The grand axiom, then, of the Economists is undoubtedly founded in truth. It remains to be examined, whether the application, which they deduce from it, be equally accurate. Believing agriculture to be the grand source of wealth, they advise, that the utmost encouragement should be given to it; and they recommend, that as many as possible of the manufacturing class, in those countries where manufactures abound, should become cultivators. In the natural order of prosperity in a state, they contend, that agriculture produces manufactures, not manufactures agriculture. Hence, they say, until every acre of waste land be cultivated, and every field managed in the most productive mode, it is advisable, that manufactures should be but slightly attended to.

That these opinions, however plausible, are not correct; that this advice, however apparently consistent, is not, in every case, judicious, the following considerations will serve to show. There can be no doubt, that it is the interest of those countries, where land is so cheap as to be purchased, or rented, for little or nothing, to devote their chief attention to agriculture; and America will be wise to import her manufactures for a century to come. She certainly needs not, at present, the stimulus of manufactures to encourage her agriculture. The case, however, seems very different with respect to Europe, and an attention to facts will prove, in opposition to the opinion of the Economists, *that in Britain, agriculture has thriven only in consequence of the influence of manufactures; and, that the increase of this influence is requisite to its further extension.*

The greater part of Europe, and Britain amongst the rest, has been formerly subject to the feudal

systems. On this system, the king was considered as the proprietor of the soil. This he divided amongst his nobles, on condition of their performing certain military services; and they again subdivided their portions, distributing part amongst their vassals, who were bound to attend them in their warlike undertakings, and retaining what they deemed sufficient for their own wants. That part of the soil retained by the lord, which was near home, was cultivated by the *Villeins* for his immediate use and benefit; and such lands as were at a distance, were committed to the management of the *Ceorls*, or peasants, on condition of their yielding up a portion of the produce as rent. At this period, manufactures, as a separate branch of industry, were not known. The few articles necessary in such a rude state, were fabricated by some individual of the family which wanted them, and the class of manufacturers had no existence. In such a state of things, agriculture must have been in an extremely unimproved condition. The vassal, who was entitled to the whole produce of his land, not having the means of disposing of any surplus, could have no inducement to raise more corn than his own family required; and the *Villeins* and *Ceorls*, by whom the food consumed by the household, and the retainers of their lord, was produced, having no motive for exertion, would naturally content themselves with the inefficacious processes of their forefathers, and raise not one grain more than they could help. Indeed, the fact, that at the period of which we are speaking, an acre of the best land was not worth more than four sheep, abundantly proves the wretched state of agriculture. Neither could any wealth be accumulated in such a state of society. For as there was no class of manufacturers, to convert, by their labour, the produce of the earth into more durable wealth, all the surplus food brought into existence one year, was consumed before the next, by those most unproductive



of all the members of society, a crowd of menial servants, and of military retainers.

This system of things continued for some centuries, and it is probable would have been in existence in a great degree even at the present moment, had it not been for the fortunate occurrence of an event, to which may, in truth, be attributed all our wealth and greatness; and to which, it is not exaggeration to say, we are indebted, that we are not now as ignorant and as oppressed as are those where this event has not yet taken place. The occurrence to which I allude, was the establishment of a new and distinct class in society—the class of manufacturers. It is not to be supposed, that this event took place all at once—that it happened in consequence of some edict or resolution of any part of the community: it was brought about gradually, by the operation of various causes: principally, perhaps, in consequence of the invasions to which Britain was then subject, which introduced, from the Low Countries, and the more civilized parts of Europe, manufacturers of various new articles of use or of luxury.

The results of the institution of this new class of society, were most important. Man is naturally selfish. The lords and land proprietors embraced with eagerness the opportunity offered to them, of devoting the surplus revenue which they were accustomed to consume in supporting a crowd of dependents, to the purchase of manufactures of convenience, or of elegance, for their individual gratification. To enable them to attain an abundant share of objects, from their novelty so attractive, it was necessary, that their surplus revenue should be as large as possible, and that it should be in money. Hence, they were willing to let to the *Villeins* and *Ceorls*, for a fixed sum of money, the land which the former had been accustomed to cultivate wholly for their benefit, and the latter to occupy, on condition of paying them a rent of the greatest part of its

produce. When once these grand events, the establishment of a class of manufacturers, and the substitution of a fixed rent in money, for an uncertain one in kind, were brought about, improvements in agriculture advanced with rapid strides. The farmer having now a market for his produce, and the power of enjoying, without interruption, any profit he might make, would be stimulated to redoubled exertion. He would be desirous of cultivating as much land, and of rendering what he cultivated as productive, as possible. Wealth would now begin to accumulate. The produce of the earth, which was before dissipated by an unproductive tribe, which left behind it no vestige of a return for its consumption, would now be converted into permanent and durable wealth, by the manufacturing class; which has the great merit of always returning an equal value for the subsistence it consumes. Affairs being thus arranged, prosperity would attend every branch of the community. The increasing population of the manufacturing class, would require more land to be cultivated, and thus employment would be provided for the additional population of the agricultural class, which would consequently be enabled to give greater rent to the land proprietors. These last again, would acquire increased power of providing employment for the manufacturing class, and thus, of affording its members the means of increased consumption.

Without entering into the consideration of many other beneficial and highly important effects which resulted from the operation of this system, such as the formation of privileged towns, the reduction of the arbitrary power of the nobles, and the consequent spread of liberty and of science, I think, it is sufficiently obvious, from the reasoning which has been used, that the extension and improvement of agriculture has, at least in Britain, depended upon the influence of manufactures, and consequently, that the tenet of the Economists, that manufac-

tates are a consequence of improved agriculture, not improved agriculture of manufactures, is, when considered as an universal doctrine, founded in error.

The truth of this opinion will be still more evident, if we attend to the facts which the other nations of Europe, all of which were originally under the same feudal system, present to us. We shall find, that all those countries which have abounded in manufactures, have been extensively cultivated, and have in course become rich, while on the other hand, those nations which have few manufactures, in which the class of manufacturers does not exist as a separate class in society, have made but small progress in agriculture, and are comparatively poor. Thus, the Netherlands, where, probably, manufactures were first established in Europe, after the darkness of the period consequent upon the destruction of Roman civilization began to dissipate, have been always celebrated for their extensive agriculture; in their minute attention to which, they may be said to rival the Chinese, having converted the whole country into a garden. France too, has long had numerous manufactures, and as she produces sufficient food for her vast population, must be tolerably cultivated. On the contrary, in Russia, Portugal, and Spain, which are dependent upon other nations for the bulk of their manufactures, agriculture has made but little progress, and these nations are far from being wealthy, notwithstanding the extent and fertility of their soil.

But, not only are the Economists in error, in denying, that improved agriculture is the effect of manufactures: their opinion, that the wealth of nations, constituted as those in Europe are, is to be increased by attending chiefly to agriculture, and by extending the farming, even at the expense of the manufacturing class, is equally incorrect. The Economists say, it would be much more to the interest of a country, if the greater part of those

who are now employed in manufacturing articles of luxury, were to become cultivators of the earth; and they contend, that while a wasteacre remains in any country, it would be better, that its inhabitants should engage in its cultivation, than in any manufactures whatever. A very slight examination of this doctrine, will show its fallacy.

It has been already admitted, that in countries, like America, where land is to be had for almost nothing, where, in some districts, the farmer lives by *consuming* the whole produce of his farm, not by *selling* it\*, and where from others, an extensive export of the produce of the soil is carried on, it is advisable, that the chief attention should be directed to agriculture, and so long as they can get manufactures from other nations, in exchange for their corn, they will best promote their interest by neglecting the former, and cultivating the latter product of labour. But the case is very different with respect to Europe. In this part of the world, all the soil is private property, and not an acre of it can be had for the purpose of cultivation, without paying rent for it. The farmer must derive this rent from the sale of his produce. Now, to whom is he to sell this produce? Certainly not to the class of land proprietors, which is a very small class in point of number, and consumes but a small portion of the food raised from the soil. To whom then can he look for the sale of that part of his produce which is to pay his rent, but to the class of manufacturers? And if it be from the manufacturing class, that the farmer is to derive his rent, it will follow, that whenever this class is supplied with a quantity of food sufficient for its wants, it will be impossi-

\* The general object of farming here, (Kentucky) is not the same it is in England. Here a man proposes to live by his farm *directly*, there it is *indirectly*; that is, he raises wheat, barley, stock, &c. for sale, consuming but a small proportion in his own family; here he raises almost every thing with a view to family consumption; even his clothing is made at home, and he sells no more than what will serve to buy him salt, and a few other articles.

Letter from Mr. H. Toulmin, dated Frankfort, Kentucky, 29 June 1802, in *Monthly Mag.* v. xii. p. 487.

ble for a single acre additional to be cultivated. It is not enough for the farmer, to raise a sufficiency of food for his own family ; he has to raise a surplus produce, which must be converted into money for the payment of his rent. But how can he dispose of this surplus, if there be already as much food produced, as there is a demand for? An extension of cultivation, then, cannot take place, without a corresponding extension of demand for the products of cultivation ; and this demand can only arise from an increase in the class of manufacturers. To apply these remarks to Great Britain : It is calculated, that in this kingdom, there are twenty-two millions of acres of waste land, and it is frequently asked, by the followers of the Economists, as well as by those who are of a very different opinion on matters of political economy ; why this waste land is not brought into cultivation, and why such a source of riches as this is neglected. For this very good reason,--that the greater part of this land, with the present demand for, and the present prices of, the produce that could be raised from it, would not pay for cultivation. Every person who has had occasion to lett land, knows, that there are many more farmers wanting farms, than there are farms to supply them ; and this being the case, it follows, indisputably, that if the waste land in the kingdom could be profitably cultivated, it would speedily be occupied by these farmers who so eagerly seek employment for their capital. But until, in consequence of an increased demand for the products of agriculture, arising from an extension of the manufacturing class, the price of this produce is sufficiently advanced to leave a profit on the cultivation of land at present suffered to lie waste, any considerable portion of this land cannot be brought into cultivation without great loss. The cultivation of our waste land, is gradually taking place, in the only way in which it can take place, and in consequence of the same causes which have effected the high state of cultivation in which the greater

part of Britain now is; I mean, by the natural increase of the numbers of the manufacturing class. In proportion as the population in this class augments, an increased quantity of food is required, and when the competition arising from this demand, has gradually, and permanently raised the price of the produce of the earth, then, and not until then, the land which now lies barren will be cultivated. Indeed, there does not seem any other practicable way than this, by which agriculture can be extended in a country where the best portion of the soil is already cultivated, and where the whole is private property. Even America, though it may now be wisdom for her not to meddle much with manufactures, yet if her population continues to multiply, for another hundred years, as rapidly as it has done, will need the influence of a class of manufacturers to push the cultivation of her soil still further.

The Economists seem to have been led into considerable error, by not properly distinguishing between the wealth, and the prosperity of a state; for these terms are by no means synonymous. A nation may, as has been before observed, be very prosperous, without being wealthy; and, on the other hand, may be very rich, without enjoying prosperity. If the question were, on what system may the greatest prosperity be enjoyed by the bulk of society? there can be no doubt, that the system recommended by the Economists, which directs the attention of every member of society, to be turned to agriculture, would be the most effectual to this end. But such a system could be efficaciously established in Europe, in no other way, than by the overthrow of all the present laws of property, and by a revolution, which would be as disastrous in its ultimate consequences, as it would be unjust and impracticable in its institution. This system could be acted upon only, by the passing an Agrarian law; by the division of the whole soil of a country, in equal portions amongst its inhabitants. Let us attend a moment to the re-

sults which would ensue from the establishment of such a system.

If the twelve millions of inhabitants of Great Britain, were to have the seventy-three millions of acres of land, which this island is said to contain, divided amongst them, each individual receiving six acres as his share, there can be no doubt, that the condition of the great bulk of the people would be materially improved. Such a quantity of land would suffice for the production of "meat, clothes, and fire," of every thing necessary for comfortable existence; and the peasant, no longer anxious about the means of providing bread for his family, might devote his abundant leisure to the cultivation of his mind, and thus realize, for a while, the golden dreams of a Condorcet, or a Godwin. Yet, however great the prosperity of such a state of society, it would be impossible for it to accumulate wealth. For, as all its members would provide their own food, there could be no sale for any surplus produce, consequently no greater quantity would be raised than could be consumed, and at the end of the year, however great might have been the amount of the wealth brought into existence, during that period by agriculture, not a trace of its existence would remain. Nor would the prosperity of such a state of society, be of long duration. In a nation where such plenty reigned, the great command of the Creator,—*"increase and multiply,"* would act in full force, and the population would double in twenty-five years. Supposing then, this state of things to continue, in seventy-five years from its establishment, Britain would contain ninety-six millions of souls, a number full as great as could exist on seventy-three millions of acres of land. Here, then, misery would commence; the difficulty of procuring subsistence would be greater to the whole of society, than it now is to a small proportion: population would be at a stand, and on any occasional failure of food, all the dreadful con-

sequences would ensue, which so frequently befall the over-peopled country of China.

If I have been successful in showing, that the application which the Economists make of their grand axiom, that all wealth is brought into existence by agriculture, is, notwithstanding the indisputable truth of that axiom, erroneous ; it will be obvious from what has been said, that agriculture and manufactures are the two chief wheels in the machine which creates national wealth ; but, that of these two, (at least in states constituted as these of Europe are) it is the latter which communicates motion to the former. In consequence, however, of the monopoly of the soil, which has been introduced by the feudal system in this quarter of the globe, the motion of these wheels, is with us, unnaturally made dependent upon a moving power, without which the machine would act but very imperfectly. This moving power, this mainspring of the machine, which has been already hinted at, but which it will be necessary in investigating the true causes of national wealth, to consider more fully, is the class of land proprietors.

The members of every civilized society, similarly constituted with those of Europe, may be divided into four classes ; the class of land owners,—of cultivators,—of manufacturers, which includes those only who, by their actual labour, convert raw produce into manufactures ;—and the class, to which, for want of a better name, we may give Dr. Adam Smith's title of the unproductive class. This last class includes all not comprised in any of the three former, all those who neither cultivate the earth, nor receive rent for a part of it : nor convert, by their labour, their subsistence into fixed and permanent wealth ; all those, in short, whose services, as Dr. Smith expresses it, perish at the instant of their performance, and leave no tangible trace of their existence. This class includes some of the most necessary and honourable, as well as the most useless and despicable members of society. It comprises the defender of his country ; the teacher of religion, or of



science; the distributer of justice; the members of the professions of law and physic; the merchant; all those who derive their income from the interest of money, whether on public or private security; the tribe of menial servants; the actor; the buffoon; and all who contribute to the mere amusement of mankind. Inasmuch as this last class consumes the produce of the earth, it is plain, that its extent, and its increase, influence the promotion of agriculture, in the same way, that the extent and increase of the class of manufacturers do; the great difference between these classes is, that while the latter replaces the food consumed by it, in some tangible commodity; the former leaves no such visible and material trace of its expended subsistence.

As it has been shown, that the whole revenue of a country, (deducting an insignificant portion sometimes derived from foreign commerce) is derived from its land, and as the class of land proprietors, are the recipients of this revenue, it is evident, that from this class \* must be drawn the revenues of the two other classes of society, the manufacturing and unproduc-

\* Part of these revenues will be drawn from that portion of the whole, which the farmer, besides the subsistence of his family, will retain; but as it greatly simplifies the argument, I have considered the land proprietors as the receivers of the whole revenue derived from the land, after the deduction of the subsistence of the farmer. This supposition does not in the least affect the truth of the conclusions to be drawn from the reasoning made use of; for though, as the true rent of the land, is the value of the surplus remaining, after the subsistence of all those occupied in producing it, has been deducted; and as the greater part of this surplus goes to the class of land proprietors, it is more simple, to regard this class as the recipients of the whole surplus; yet, it is clear, inasmuch as the members of the class of cultivators retain a part of this surplus as their profit, that, with respect to this profit, they stand in the place of the class of land proprietors, and consequently, that the reasoning applied to the latter class on this head, will equally apply to them. The class of farmers may thus be considered, with relation to the net profit they make, as belonging also to the class of land proprietors, in the same way as the farmer, who cultivates his own land, must be considered as belonging to both classes. Except we bear this consideration in mind, we shall not form a right estimate of the net revenue derived from land. Many land proprietors, whose estates have been let on long leases, or who choose, from various motives, to let them much below their real value, do not receive half the rent which is derived from lands in the neighbourhood. In such cases, the farmer may sometimes be receiving more net revenue from his land, than the proprietor does, and therefore occupies the place of the latter, whom we may, nevertheless, for the sake of greater simplicity, conceive as receiving the whole.

tive classes. It is, in consequence of the demand of these two last mentioned classes, that the wealth brought into existence by agriculture is produced, but, as these classes do not themselves create revenue, and as they cannot consume, without being possessed of revenue to pay for the objects of their consumption, it is indisputable, that their revenue, their means of purchasing the produce of the earth, must be derived from the only source it can be drawn from, the class of land proprietors.

It is a condition, then, essential to the creation of national wealth, in societies constituted like those of Europe, that the class of land proprietors, expend the greater part of the revenue which they derive from the soil. They are the agents, through whose hands the revenue of the society passes, but in order that wealth and prosperity should accrue to the community, it is absolutely necessary, that they should spend this revenue. So long as they perform this duty, every thing goes on in its proper train. With the funds which the manufacturing and the unproductive classes appropriate to themselves, from the expenditure of the class of land owners, from supplying the members of this class with the various objects of necessity, or of luxury, which their desires, whether natural, or factitious, require, they are enabled to purchase the food which the farmer offers to them. The farmer being enabled to dispose of his produce, acquires the funds necessary for the payment of his rent, and thus, the revenue again reverts to the land proprietor, from whom it was in the first instance derived, again to be expended, and again to perform the same duty of circulation.

That the extension of the wealth of a society depends on the yearly expenditure of the revenue which the land proprietors derive from its soil, will be still more evident, if we consider what would be the result, if this class of society ceased to expend. Let us make the supposition, that fifty of our great land owners, each deriving 20,000*l.* a year from his

estates, which they had been accustomed to spend, were to be convinced, by the arguments of Dr. Smith\*, that the practice of parsimony is the most effectual way of accumulating national riches: Let us suppose, that, patriotically induced by this reflection, they resolved not to spend, but to save, the 1,000,000*l.* which their revenue amounted to. Is it not self-evident, that all those members of the manufacturing and unproductive classes, who had, directly, or indirectly, been accustomed to draw the revenue destined for their subsistence, from the expenditure of this sum, would have their power of consuming the produce of the earth diminished, by the whole amount of this 1,000,000*l.*? And, if so, it follows, that they would be obliged to submit to food, both less in quantity, and deteriorated in quality. The farmer, consequently, could not sell so much of his produce, nor at so good a price, as before, and thus he would be incapable of paying the rent, which he had been accustomed to pay, and, in the end, the land proprietors would be as much injured by this saving scheme, as any of the other classes of society. Let it not be urged, that as this supposed sum would not be hoarded, (for misers, now a days, are wiser than to keep their money in strong boxes at home,) but would be lent on interest: It would still be employed in circulation, and would still give employment to manufacturers. It should be con-

\*There is a singular vagueness and confusion in the whole of Dr. Smith's reasoning, relative to the different effects of prodigality, and parsimony upon national wealth. (*Wealth of Nations*, Bk. II. ch. iii.) His arguments seem to be intended to maintain, that fresh capital may be profitably employed, in manufacturing goods which nobody will buy: for, certainly, no purchasers could be found for the goods brought into existence by the employment of new capital, if all the members of the society were to convert the greater part of their revenue into capital. Dr. Smith's errors on this head, appear to have resulted from his inattention to the fact, which, in one part of his work he has admitted, that the revenues of every branch of the society, must be derived from the soil. If he had been aware of this truth, he must have seen, that however necessary it may be that some part of the community should add to their capitals by parsimony, the performance of this duty does in no wise attach to the great distributors of revenue, the land proprietors.

sidered, that money borrowed on interest, is destined, not for expenditure, but, to be employed as capital; that the very circumstance of lessening expenditure, decreases the means of the profitable employment of capital, and, consequently, that the employment of the sum alluded to as capital, would in no degree diminish the hardships of those who had been deprived of the revenue derived from its expenditure.

If parsimony be the most effective mode of increasing national wealth, certainly, then, this nation would be much richer, if the whole of its class of land proprietors, who receive, at least, seventy, perhaps one hundred, millions \* annually, as the rent of its soil, were to follow the example of Mr. Elwes, and live on hard eggs and a crust of bread, not spending more than 100l. or 200l. a year. But a single glance is sufficient to show the direful ruin which would at once ensue, from taking such a sum from the annual expenditure, and at the same time making such an addition to the capital of the country. If the land proprietors received their rent in kind, the most superficial thinker must allow, that unless they spent it, that is, bartered it for manufactured articles, or gave it away, all the members

\* It is impossible to ascertain, with any great precision, the amount of the revenue derived from land in this country. If the Tax-office, in receiving the Property Tax, distinguished between the sums levied on lands, and on the profits of trade, &c. a near approximation to the truth might be had; but I apprehend no such separate account is kept. I shall, perhaps, be excused for remarking in this place, that the gross amount of the Property Tax, by no means points out the real revenue of the country; for, in the greater number of cases, the tax is paid *twice* upon this revenue, which is consequently, in fact, much less than what it would seem to be, by estimating its amount at ten times the sum of the gross tax. Since the whole revenue of the manufacturing and unproductive classes, upon which 10 *per cent.* is paid, is drawn from the revenue of the class of land proprietors, upon which also 10 *per cent.* has previously been paid, it is clear, that, in most cases, the government receives, not 10, but 20, and sometimes even 30 *per cent.* on the real income of the nation. In many instances, this is abundantly evident. A land proprietor, who pays 500l. a year for the rent of a house in London, has already advanced 10 *per cent.* on this sum, but the owner of the house also pays 10 *per cent.* on the rent which he receives, and which becomes a part of his revenue; so that 20 *per cent.* is, in fact, paid on this amount. A physician, or a lawyer, who draws to himself an

of the manufacturing and unproductive classes must absolutely perish with hunger. But what difference in the case is caused by the use of a circulating medium? none whatever. Money is employed for the purpose, merely, of transferring the produce of industry from one to another, with greater facility. This "wheel of circulation," as Dr. Smith calls it, or "oil which lubricates, the wheel" according to Mr. Hume's designation, is this year given by the manufacturing and unproductive classes to the class of land proprietors, in exchange for food; but, if the latter do not repay it before the next, in return for manufactured produce, or services of some kind, the former classes will no longer have the means of purchasing subsistence, and the machine of society must be broken up.

It is clear, then, that expenditure, not parsimony, is the province of the class of land proprietors, and, that it is on the due performance of this duty, by the class in question, that the production of national wealth depends. And not only does the production of national wealth depend upon the expenditure of the class of land proprietors, but, for the due increase of this wealth, and for the constantly progressive maintenance of the prosperity of the community, it

income of 2000l. a year from the revenue of other individuals of society, on which the property tax has been already paid, obviously pays this tax, on a revenue which has been taxed once before. The law has provided, that the tax shall not be twice paid on incomes derived from interest of money, or from an annuity. But the revenue of a physician, or a lawyer, is as certainly drawn from other revenues, which have already paid the tax, as if it were derived from the interest of money, or an annuity. The only difference between the cases is, that the annuitant, or receiver of interest, has a *right* to draw his revenue from *one* person, while the physician, or lawyer, draws his income from *many* persons, who are *not obligated* to transfer it to him. Every one must allow, that the property tax is twice paid on the 25,000,000l. which is annually advanced for the payment of the interest of the national debt: first, by those who have advanced this sum by paying out of their revenue, taxes to this amount, on articles of their consumption: and next, by the stockholders, who a second time pay 10 *per cent.* on this sum. And if it were as easy to trace, with clearness, the origin of the profits of a merchant, or manufacturer, it would be equally found, in every such case, that the property tax had been previously paid on the revenue which he draws to himself.

is absolutely requisite, that this class should go on progressively increasing its expenditure. If, in consequence of the expenditure of this class, the other classes of society be in prosperity, it infallibly follows, that their population will increase. Now, how is this increased population to be subsisted, unless the class, from whom the revenue of the whole is derived, proportionably increases its expenditure? The augmented population of the manufacturing class, will demand an augmentation of food, and will readily furnish abundance of manufactures, but except a market for the sale of these new manufactures can be had, how shall it pay for the food which it requires: and in what class, but the class of land proprietors, can this market be found? Certainly not in the class of cultivators; for, however willing the new members of this class would be to provide food for the new manufacturers, they cannot exchange their produce for manufactures; they cannot exchange corn for cloth, or for hardware, but for the circulating medium in which their rent must be paid. It is from the class of land proprietors, that this circulating medium, this money, must be derived, and so long as this class increases its expenditure in proportion as the population of the other classes augments, universal prosperity will result to the whole. So long as the class of land proprietors purchases the new articles of use, or of luxury, which the new manufacturers will offer to sale, these last will be enabled to create an effective demand for the produce of the earth. This demand will, in course, raise the prices of food; thus the increased population of the agricultural class will be employed in bringing into cultivation, and can now afford to pay a rent for, land, before suffered to lie waste: and, in the end, the land proprietors will receive back again, in an increase of rent, the sums which they in the first instance had advanced.

Two of the consequences which result from what has been observed relative to the important part

which the class of land proprietors have to act in the system requisite in Europe, to produce the greatest possible degree of wealth and prosperity, deserve distinct mention.

1. It follows from the considerations above adduced, that, in countries constituted as this, and those composing the rest of Europe are, the increase of *luxury* is absolutely essential to their well being. Because the fall of some of the greatest and most powerful of the nations of antiquity, has been, with justice perhaps, attributed to the spread of luxury amongst them, many politicians of modern times have prognosticated, that the decline and eventual fall of Britain, would be occasioned by the same cause. But they do not consider, that there is an essential difference between the system of this country, and of nations such as ancient Rome. The latter despised the class of manufacturers; their attention was in their infancy solely devoted to agriculture and to arms, and their wealth was derived from the plunder of conquered countries, not from their own internal resources. When, in consequence of extended conquest, an accumulation of wealth was acquired by every private soldier even of their army, effeminacy took place of the active courage which had procured their riches, and they fell an easy prey to the hungry hordes of northern barbarians which attacked them. No such consequences, however, can result to nations, whose wealth is derived from their own internal resources; for, however great may be the quantity of luxuries produced by the manufacturing class, the bulk of that class, from which the army of the state must be chiefly supplied, will never enjoy more than the bare necessities of life, and consequently cannot be enervated by the luxuries it brings into existence. Nobody will pretend, that the artizans employed in the fabrication of the most luxurious couch, or the softest velvets, will be debilitated by their manufacture, or would make worse soldiers, than if they had never made any other

than deal chairs, or coarse woollen cloth. So that luxury cannot contribute to our fall, in the same way in which it did to the fall of ancient Rome; and that its increase is necessary to our prosperity, few thinking minds will deny.

It is impossible exactly to define what are luxuries, and what necessities; yet, a slight consideration will show, that a very great proportion of our manufactures cannot be included under the latter title. Every one knows, that a few hundreds a year are sufficient to procure all the necessities and comforts of life: in what, then, can the sums above this amount, which are spent by the numbers in this country, who have their 10,000*l.* and 20,000*l.* a year, be expended, but in luxuries? And as, from this consideration, it is plain, that the population of the manufacturing class, at present occupied in providing necessities, is fully equal to fabricate all that are wanted of this description, it follows, that the additional population of this class, can only be employed in the manufacture of new luxuries.

Though it is of little consequence to the physical *prosperity* of a country, in what luxuries the revenue of its land proprietors is expended, so that it be expended; yet its *wealth* will gain a greater accession, the more permanent these luxuries are; and it will be therefore desirable, that a taste for luxuries of this description, rather than for such as are of a transitory nature, be infused into the minds of the members of society. Thus, the *prosperity* of the country would be as much promoted, if an owner of an estate of 10,000*l.* a year, were to expend this sum in employing 500 men to blow glass bubbles, to be broken as soon as made, as if he employed the same number in building a splendid palace; yet, in the latter case, a permanent and desirable addition would be made to national wealth, in the former, none at all. The 500 glass blowers would require as much wealth to be brought into existence from the soil, would consume as much food, and would consequently be



as prosperous, as the 500 palace builders; yet, the former would leave no valuable return for their subsistence; they would, in this case, be unproductive labourers, while the latter would produce such a return,—would be productive labourers.

And as in a country, constituted as this is, the unproductive class, will necessarily be very numerous; though, with respect to its enjoyment of physical prosperity, it is of no moment what its members are employed in, so that they are able to draw the funds requisite for their subsistence from the class of land proprietors; yet, in a moral point of view, it is highly desirable, that they should be occupied in ministering to the wisdom, rather than the follies, of society; in contributing to its instruction, rather than its amusement. Thus, when a nobleman keeps in his retinue, fifty menial servants, this luxurious appendage of rank, undoubtedly contributes to the prosperity of the country. Not only do these fifty dependents themselves enjoy the greatest abundance of food, but, at the same time, the expenditure, which their clothing, &c. occasions, contributes to the support of a proportion of the manufacturing class. Yet it is certainly much to be wished, that the place of half this retinue were filled with men who would aid the cause of knowledge and of virtue, as well as of national prosperity. It is doubtless desirable, that it were the fashion for a man of fortune to have twenty-five teachers of knowledge, or professors of science, on his establishment, and twenty-five domestics, whose services were really necessary, rather than fifty of the latter class, of whom a majority cannot find employment for their time.

2. It is a necessary consequence of the doctrines here maintained, that *all taxes, however levied, in the end fall upon the soil, and are eventually borne by the land proprietors.* If it be allowed that agriculture is the sole source of the revenue of a society, the truth of this position, which is above 2000 years old,

having been held by *Artaxerxes*,\* must be admitted. If the wealth supposed to be created by manufactures, be merely a transmutation of wealth before existing, into another form, it is clear that whatever taxes may be laid upon manufactured articles, must finally be paid from the source whence these articles themselves are derived. Indeed, so impossible is it to avoid this consequence, that Dr. Smith, though in words he denied this doctrine of the Economists, and though he declined "entering into the disagreeable discussion of the metaphysical arguments by which they support their very ingenious theory," has, in fact, virtually admitted its truth. He asserts that all revenue must be derived from rent of land, profit of stock, or wages of labour. But in the course of his investigations he admits, that no taxes are finally paid by the profit of stock; the employer of capital always shifting the burden from himself upon the consumer. He allows, too, that taxes cannot finally fall upon wages, since the wages of the labourer increase in proportion as the price of the articles he consumes is augmented by taxation. On what, then, can taxes fall, but upon the rent of land? If all revenue be necessarily derived from rent, wages and profit, and the two latter cannot be affected by taxation; Dr. Smith, on his own premises, admits the truth of the doctrine of the Economists.†

Though, however, it is indisputable, that all taxes are finally paid out of the neat produce of the soil; and hence, that it is truly preposterous for any nation to give to foreign commerce, or even its manufactures, the merit of bearing any portion of the burdens of the state; yet, it by no means follows, that the corollary which the Economists deduce from this principle, namely, that no tax except a land-tax should ever be levied, is accurate. Reasons, which

\* See Gibbon's "Decline and Fall" 8vo. Edition, Vol. I. p. 341.

† I am indebted for this view of the coincidence at the bottom, between Dr. Smith and the French Economists, to an ingenious writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. I. p. 445.

it is impracticable, in this place, to adduce, render it doubtful, whether a direct land-tax would be advisable even in an infant state; and it is much more obvious that the intricate and artificial relations of adult societies, wholly preclude the propriety of such a tax.

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AGRICULTURE and manufactures for home consumption, then, are the only branches of industry essential to the production and accumulation of national wealth: and by the aid of these alone, a society might attain a greater portion of riches, than has yet fallen to the lot of any of those communities, where the natural operation of these causes of wealth, has been obstructed or diverted, by the absurd regulations of politicians. A country without foreign commerce, would not, indeed, possess wealth of *some* descriptions; but in nine instances out of ten, it might enjoy a much greater mass of such wealth as most contributes to the happiness of mankind, if, contented with its own resources, it bestowed its industry upon the materials which the bounty of Providence has in every quarter so liberally provided\*. Nor is this inference the result of theoretical speculation merely. We have a grand existing example, that the greatest wealth may be created without foreign commerce. CHINA has always studiously discouraged this branch of industry. "Your beggarly commerce! was the language in which the Mandarins of Peking used to talk to Mons. de Lange,

\* This truth Bishop Berkeley was aware of, when he asked, "Whether one may not be allowed to conceive and suppose a society or nation of human creatures, clad in woollen cloths and stuffs; eating good bread, beef and mutton, poultry and fish, in great plenty; drinking ale, mead, and cyder; inhabiting decent houses, built of brick and marble, taking their pleasure in fair parks and gardens; depending on no foreign imports for food and raiment? And whether such a people ought much to be pitied?" *Querist*, Q. 123. And again—"Whether a fertile land, and the industry of its inhabitants would not prove inexhaustible funds of real wealth?" Q. 40. Indeed, from various queries in this ingenious work, it is evident that the good Bishop of Cloyne was familiar with the doctrines which I have been endeavouring to support.

the Russian Envoy, concerning it.\* Yet CHINA has attained to a much higher degree of wealth than any European nation; though, certainly, the structure of her society, is far from being so favourable to the production of wealth as it might be. JAPAN, too, an island not much bigger than our own, has acquired vast riches without foreign trade.

I HAVE hitherto purposely avoided other than a very slight allusion to the part which is acted by commerce in the creation of national wealth, because the investigation of this subject will be greatly simplified by being treated of separately, and subsequent to the preliminary inquiry which has been instituted. It now remains to attend to this question.

Though a nation as has been shown, possessed of landed territory, may acquire great wealth, and enjoy prosperity by the sole action, and re-action, of manufactures and of agriculture upon each other; few countries that have made any progress in civilization, have contented themselves with these two branches of industry. From the influence of different causes, one country has produced a superfluity of something of which another has been in want, and *vice versa*; and hence, an interchange or commerce of commodities, has taken place between the two. There is no question as to the *conveniences* arising from this commerce, and the reader will greatly err, if he suppose I am desirous of proving, that it would be better for the world, if there were less of it than there is. On the contrary, there cannot be a warmer advocate than I am, for its reasonable extension. But, it has been almost universally believed, that, besides being an accommodation and a convenience, commerce is the greatest possible source of national wealth. In this country, particularly, where commerce has been carried to a greater extent than in any other country of the same size,

it is the opinion of almost all its inhabitants, that its wealth, its greatness, and its prosperity, have been chiefly derived from its commerce : and that these advantages can be continued, and increased, only by its continuance and extension.

That these opinions, as far as they respect this country, are founded in truth, I cannot bring myself to believe, and I proceed to state the grounds of my conviction of their fallacy.

As all commerce naturally divides itself into commerce of import and export, I shall, in the first place, endeavour to prove, that no riches, no increase of national wealth, can in any case be derived from commerce of import ; and, in the next place, that, although national wealth may, in some cases, be derived from commerce of export, yet, that Britain, in consequence of particular circumstances, has not derived, nor does derive, from this branch of commerce, any portion of her national wealth : and consequently, that her riches, her prosperity, and her power are intrinsic, derived from her own resources, independent of commerce, and might, and will exist, even though her trade should be annihilated. These positions, untenable as at first glance they may seem, I do not fear being able to establish to the satisfaction of those, who will dismiss from their mind the deep-rooted prejudices with which, on this subject, they are warped : and who, no longer contented with examining the mere surface of things, shall determine to penetrate through every stratum of the mine which conceals the grand truths of political economy.

As it will be requisite, in the course of our inquiries, frequently to make use of the word *consumers*, by which is meant, those who *finally* purchase and *make use of* the articles of commerce, it is necessary previously to observe, that though this term is applicable to all the classes in society, as every class necessarily consumes ; yet, as it has been shown, that the consumable revenue of the class of manufacturers,

and of the unproductive class, is wholly derived from the agricultural class, and the class of land proprietors, it is these two last classes which are, in fact, the sole consuming classes in society. Inasmuch, however, as these two classes distribute part of their revenue to the remaining classes, and thus enable them to consume, the denomination of consumers cannot, with propriety, be restricted to the classes of land proprietors and cultivators, but must be extended to the whole community.

Every one must allow, that for whatever a nation purchases in a foreign market, it gives an adequate value, either in money, or in other goods; so far then, certainly, it gains no profit nor addition to its wealth. It has changed one sort of wealth for another, but it has not increased the amount it was before possessed of. Thus, when the East India Company has exchanged a quantity of bullion with the Chinese for tea, no one will say, that this mere exchange is any increase of national wealth\*. We have gained a quantity of tea, but we have parted with an equal value of gold and silver; and if this tea were sold at home, for exactly the same sum as had been given for it, it would be allowed, on all hands, that no wealth had accrued to the nation from this transfer. But, because goods, bought at a foreign market, and sold at home, have their value considerably augmented by the charge of transporting them, the duty paid to government, the profit of the merchant importer, &c. it is contended, by the disciples of the mercantile

\* If by wealth be merely understood the greatest possible enjoyment of things we most desire, there can be no doubt, that, inasmuch as it is proved we have a greater desire for tea than for gold and silver, by the fact of our exchanging one for the other, we may be said to have gained wealth by the exchange: but this is not the sort of wealth which the disciples of the mercantile system contend is gained by a nation from trade. What they call wealth, is an increase of the capital, or stock of the society, not the mere exchange of one consumable commodity for another. Nor, indeed, can this definition of wealth be used, without a gross perversion of accurate language. Wealth consists in the power of enjoying, not in enjoyment itself. Who will contend, that a man that spends 10,000*l.* a year, is more wealthy than the miser who lives on a pittance, and annually saves a like sum?

system, that this increased value is so much profit to the nation; so much addition to the amount of national wealth. Thus, a quantity of tea, say they, which has cost in China 1000*l.* will, by the charges and profits which have occurred upon it, previous to its exposure for sale in England, have its value augmented to 1500*l.* and will be sold for that sum at home. Since, then, the tea cost but 1000*l.* and it has been sold for 1500*l.* is not this 500*l.* an addition to national wealth? To this question, I answer, No; certainly not. There is no doubt, but the persons concerned in this transaction, have gained a profit, and have added to their individual wealth. The ship owner has added to his wealth, by the freight of the tea; the underwriter by his premiums of insurance upon it; the government has increased the revenue by the duties of customs and excise; and the East India Company has augmented its dividend by the profit gained upon this article. But, the question is, from whence have these profits of the ship owner, the underwriter, the government, and the East India Company been derived? Have they not been drawn from the consumers of this tea; and is it not as clear as noonday, that whatever the former have gained, the latter have lost: that the latter are exactly poorer in proportion as the former are richer, and, in short, that a transfer, not a creation, of wealth, has taken place? If this tea had been sold for 1000*l.* the bare sum which it cost, would the nation have been poorer, than if it were sold for 1500*l.*? Certainly not. In this case, the consumers of the tea would have kept in their pockets the 500*l.* which on the other supposition, they transferred to the pockets of the ship owner, the insurer, &c.; but the national wealth would be neither increased nor diminished.

The same reasoning is applicable to all commerce of import. In every case, the value of an article is what it has cost in the foreign market, and whatever it is sold for, more than this, is a transfer of wealth

from the consumers of the article, to those who gain a profit by it, but in no instance is there any addition to national wealth created by this branch of commerce. A gamester, who is not worth sixpence to-night, may, by to-morrow, be possessed of 30,000*l.* which he has won from the dupes of his knavery; but who would not laugh at him, that should imagine this transfer of individual fortune, an accession of national wealth? Yet this opinion might, with every whit as much justice be maintained, as that the honourable profit of those concerned in importing articles of merchandize, is a creation of national riches.

The arguments made use of to show, that no national wealth is derived from commerce of import, will serve also to prove the absurdity of their notions, who talk of the importance of such and such branches of commerce, because of the great duties which are levied on them at the custom house or excise office. Such reasoners will insist upon the vast value of our East India trade, because of the three or four millions which the public revenue derives from the duties imposed on the articles imported from thence. They do not consider, that all such duties are finally paid by the consumers of the articles on which they are laid; and that these consumers are equally able to pay the sums they advance, whether or not they consume the articles on which they are levied. Thus, an individual who annually consumes 10*l.* worth of tea, contributes to the revenue 4*l.*;—but, surely, it is not essential to his capacity of contributing this sum, that he should consume a certain quantity of tea yearly. Since he possesses funds adequate to the payment of 10*l.* for tea, if no duty were charged on this tea, and he could purchase it for 6*l.* he would still be able to advance the additional 4*l.* as a direct tax. Indeed, if he were entirely to cease consuming tea, (though I do not advise that he should do so,) and were to substitute in its place the equally nourishing, and far more wholesome, beverage, water,



which he might have without cost, he would have the power of much more considerably contributing to the public revenue; for in that case, he might afford to pay, as a direct tax, the whole 10*l.* which he had been accustomed to spend in this luxury, and of which before, 4*l.* only went to the Exchequer, the remainder being divided between the Chinese, the ship owner, the East India Company, &c. On the same mode of reasoning, it would be preposterous to maintain, that he who can afford to drink a barrel of ale, on which the duty is 10*s.* could not afford to advance this 10*s.* *without* drinking the ale. The fact is, that it is a convenient way of raising a revenue, to tax consumable articles at the custom house, or the excise office; but, if the consumers of such articles, can afford to consume them loaded with taxes, they certainly can afford to advance these taxes, even though they did not consume the articles upon which they are levied; and hence there is no *necessity* whatever, that the articles in question should be imported for the mere purpose of aiding the revenue of the country.

If it be clear, that no increase of national wealth can be derived from commerce of import, it is, on the other hand, equally plain, that in some cases, an increase of national wealth may be drawn from commerce of export. The value obtained in foreign markets, for the manufactures which a nation exports, resolves itself into the value of the food which has been expended in manufacturing them, and the profit of the master manufacturer, and the exporting merchant. These profits are undoubtedly national profit. Thus, when a lace manufacturer has been so long employed in manufacturing a pound of flax into lace, that his subsistence, during that period, has cost 30*l.* this sum is the real worth of the lace; and if it be sold at home, whether for 30*l.* or 60*l.* the nation is, as has been shown, no richer for this manufacture. But if this lace be exported to another country, and there sold for 60*l.* it is undeniable,

that the exporting nation has added 30l. to its wealth by its sale, since the cost to it was only 30l.

Reasoning in this way, an Economist would admit, that Britain gains some increase of national wealth, by her commerce of export. Yet he would be truly astonished to observe the value which we set upon this commerce, when he calculated the probable amount of our national gains from this source, and compared it with the public revenue, and private expenditure of the country. He would reason thus: Great Britain, in the most prosperous years of her commerce, has exported to the amount of about fifty millions sterling. If we estimate the profit of the master manufacturer, and the exporting merchant, at 20 *per cent.* on this, it will probably be not far from the truth; certainly it will be fully as much, as in these times of competition, is likely to be gained. Great Britain, then, gains annually by her commerce of export, ten millions\*. This sum, in itself, seems considerable; but compare it with the public and private revenue of the country, and it will be seen to be perfectly insignificant, and the trade from whence it springs, in no degree entitled to rank as the chief source of its wealth. Nearly *thrice* this sum is paid for the interest of the national debt! More than *six times* this sum is paid to the government in taxes! It cannot be supposed, that the receivers of this ten millions of profit from trade, pay more than one fifth of the whole, which is two millions, in taxes. To this we may add, the custom-house duties on exports, which may amount to nearly two millions more. Four millions, therefore, is the utmost that we can suppose the revenue derives, from

\* If from this sum we deduct, as we certainly ought to do, the annual amount of our commercial losses at sea, we should considerably lessen its magnitude. The greater part of our exports, as well as of our imports, being insured by British underwriters, the whole amount which they annually pay, is so much dead loss to the nation; deducting the premiums which they receive from foreign countries. It is impossible to ascertain what is the annual amount of the sums paid by underwriters, and of the loss sustained by individuals from losses at sea, but it must be some millions.

British commerce of export. Whence, then, I ask, spring the remaining *sixty* millions, which are annually paid in taxes? Certainly from some source more productive than commerce of export. And, as no wealth is created by manufactures sold at home, or by commerce of import, from what source can this enormous amount of taxes be derived, but from the grand source of wealth, the soil?

We should laugh at, or pity as insane, the proprietor of a landed estate of 10,000*l.* a year, on which there was a stone quarry, producing him annually 500*l.* profit, who should continually be dwelling on the amazing importance of this quarry, and be miserable when he sold a few cart loads of stones less than usual; and, at the same time, should pay no regard to the infinitely greater revenue arising from his land, but should consider it as by far the least important part of his riches. With equal justice might the Economist laugh at our folly, or pity our insanity. "These people, these Britons," he might say, "have a territory the most productive, in proportion to its size, of any in Europe. As their island contains twelve millions of inhabitants, and each person on the average annually consumes food to the amount of at least 10*l.* they must derive from their soil a gross yearly revenue of 120 millions. Their surplus produce, too, is greater than that of any nation in the world; for, in the raising of food for twelve millions of people, there are not occupied more than *two* millions\*, and consequently, the remaining ten millions

\* From the result of the Population Act, it appears, that of the 8,300,000 persons, which England then contained, only 1,524,000 were chiefly employed in agriculture; so that of the 12 millions, which Great Britain is supposed to include, there cannot be computed to be much more than a sixth part employed in cultivating the earth. This fact strikingly confirms the truth of the opinion here maintained, of the vast wealth derived from our soil. And it is on account of the smallness of the population, employed in bringing into existence such a large produce, that the wealth of Britain is so greatly superior to that of other nations with a much larger population. In most other countries, the bulk of the people are employed in producing the food which they consume, consequently the manufacturing class must be small, and there can be no accumulation of wealth, however great may be its production. Thus, in France, where

may be employed in fabricating manufactures of use, or of luxury; in defending the state; in communicating religious, moral, or scientific, instruction; in administering justice, and in contributing most essentially, in a thousand other ways, to the happiness and prosperity of the community. And yet, strange infatuation! these islanders, notwithstanding their riches and their greatness are so incontestably derived from intrinsic causes, not to be affected by any thing external, notwithstanding they draw a gross revenue. an absolute creation of wealth annually, to the amount of 120,000,000*l.* from their soil: regard this true source of their wealth with indifference; with unaccountable delusion fancy all their riches have been derived from commerce; from a source, the national profits of which cannot be more than a twelfth part of their whole revenue, and are miserable at the idea of having a few ports shut against their trade! And still more strange is the consideration, that, not only their merchants, whose self-interest might blind them on this point; not only their ignorant vulgar have raised this cry of their dependence on commerce: even their land owners, their statesmen, whom, of all men, it behoved to have had right notions on such an important subject, have re-echoed the senseless delusion. Well might one of their greatest promoters of

there is an infinity of small estates of ten and twenty, and even so low as two and three acres, each, which are the bane of all national increase of wealth, probably more than *half* the population is employed in agriculture. When a nation has once gone into the system which we have adopted, on which manufactures are made the cause of increased agriculture, it is desirable that the land should be cultivated with the fewest possible number of hands that are sufficient to cultivate it well. Thus if by some supernatural influence 1000 Britons had the power of raising the same quantity of food from our soil, which is now raised by 2,000,000, it would evidently be a most important national advantage. Upwards of 1,900,000 labourers might then become manufacturers, and by their labour convert the food which they consume, into durable wealth.—This subject might be greatly enlarged upon, did not the limits of this publication forbid it. What has been already hinted, is sufficient to prove the folly of the outcry which has been raised in this country against the practice of throwing many small farms into one large one. Such a practice is the surest proof of national wealth; and farms cannot be too large, nor cultivated with too few hands,

agriculture, indignantly exclaim, on reading a speech of their favourite minister, on the state of the nation, in which agriculture was scarcely deemed worthy of notice, as a source of national wealth; 'This the speech of a great minister at the close of the eighteenth century!—No: it is a tissue of the common places of a counting-house, spun for a spouting-club, by the clerk of a banker:—*labour of the artisan—industry of manufacturers—facility of credit—execution of orders—pre-eminence in foreign markets—capital—compound interest*—these are the great illustrations of national felicity! This the reach of mind and depth of research, to mark the talents framed to govern kingdoms! These big words, to paint little views,—and splendid periods, that clothe narrow ideas! These sweepings of Colbert's shop—These gleanings from the poverty of Necker!—Are these the lessons he learned from Adam Smith? From a writer, who attributes the flourishing situation of England, more to the security of farmers in their leases, than to all our boasted laws for the encouragement of foreign commerce\*?"

I have supposed these reflections to be made by an Economist, because he might consistently allow an increase of national wealth to be derived from our commerce of export, which I cannot admit to spring from this source. If the absurdity of our conduct, in estimating the value of commerce so highly, be evident, even on the supposition that we really do gain a few millions annually from it, how egregious will our folly, how excessive our blindness, appear, if it can be proved, as I shall now endeavour to prove, that *Britain does not derive any accession of wealth whatever from commerce of export*, and consequently, *that her riches, her greatness, and her power, are wholly derived from sources within herself, and are entirely and altogether independent of her trade.*

\* Remarks on Mr. Pitt's Speech on the State of the Nation, by A. Young, *Annals of Agriculture*, vol. xvii. p. 373.

I have already admitted, that there are cases in which a nation may gain wealth from commerce of export. I grant, that when a nation receives the profits of its export trade, in necessary and durable commodities, these profits will be national profit. But, inasmuch as a great proportion of the imports of Britain,—a much greater proportion than the amount she can possibly gain by her export trade—consists of luxuries of the most fugitive description, which are speedily consumed, and leave not a vestige of their existence behind them: from this circumstance, I contend, that her wealth derives no augmentation from her commerce of export.

Before I proceed to advance the reasoning, and to point out the facts upon which this opinion is founded, it is necessary to show by a slight examination, the fallacy of the doctrine of the *balance of trade*,—or, the opinion that Britain accumulates riches from her commerce, by receiving every year a balance in the precious metals, in consequence of a constant excess of her exports over her imports. Glaringly absurd as is this doctrine, in the eyes of every tyro in political economy, and clearly as it has been demonstrated that no such balance can be received; we still, as a century ago, hear, not only our newspaper politicians, but our statesmen even, estimating the value of a branch of commerce, by a reference to this exploded theory. I shall spend a few words, therefore, in showing, that, for the most part, there has been no difference between the value of our imports and exports; and if there has existed any such difference, that this difference has been completely thrown away by being expended in foreign warfare: consequently, that our wealth cannot have been increased by any balance of gold and silver derived from commerce.

The only documents to which we can refer for the foundation of an opinion concerning the relative amount of our imports and exports, are the accounts

annually laid before parliament by the Inspector General. From these accounts, it appears, that in 100 years, from the year 1700, to the year 1800, the total value of our exports exceeded that of our imports, by 348 millions sterling. If, then, these accounts were correct, we ought, at this present time, to be worth a quantity of the precious metals equal to this amount, added to the amount of the quantity which was in the country prior to the year 1700; we ought to possess gold and silver to the amount of considerably more than 400 millions sterling. But every one knows, that we do not possess a twentieth part of this amount of the precious metals; there is even great reason to believe, when we reflect how very small is the value of the gold and silver now employed as a circulating medium, that there is not at present so much of these metals in the kingdom, as there was a century ago, notwithstanding a greater quantity of them may be now converted into plate, than there was at that time.

This being the case, one of these two suppositions must be true: Either the accounts of the value of our imports and exports are incorrect, and the amount of the former has more nearly equalled the amount of the latter, than is there represented: or, the difference in value between the two, has been applied to the payment of foreign nations, for the expenditure occasioned by our wars. The latter supposition is maintained by Mr. Foster\*. He conceives, that the amount of our exports above that of our imports, for the last century, has been even more considerable than is represented by the custom-house accounts, and, that the whole of this difference has been paid to foreign nations, for the maintenance of our armies, for the subsidies granted to our allies, and the other expenses consequent upon continental warfare.

If this opinion were well founded, there would

\* *Essay on the Principle of Commercial Exchange*, p. 9, &c.

be no need to enter into any long argument to prove, that we have gained no accession of wealth from our commerce of export. For if we have, in the course of a century, exported to the amount of 400 millions sterling, in manufactured articles, for which we have never received any return whatever, the warmest advocate for commerce will scarcely assert, that we can have got rich by such a trade.

But, as Mr. Foster has not produced any proof, that our foreign expenditure, in the last century, has been so immense as he supposes, though, no doubt, it has been considerable, it may be questioned, whether it is not a more probable supposition, that the custom-house accounts are incorrect, and, that the value of our imports has more nearly approached that of our exports, then the statements of these accounts would lead us to imagine. Nothing can be more vague than the mode in which the value of our exports has been formerly ascertained. How is it possible, that any estimate at all approaching to accuracy, could be formed of the value of the principal of our exported manufactures, such as woollens and cottons, which paid no duty, and of which the custom-house knew nothing either of the quantity or quality; inasmuch as it was necessary to enter the number of packages only, without specifying the number of yards contained in them, or the price per yard? Such being the uncertainty of the data on which these custom-house documents are grounded, and it being obviously the interest of a minister who holds the doctrine of a balance of trade, to make the amount of our exports as large, and of our imports as small, as possible; it does not seem unreasonable to presume, that the value of each, has been always pretty nearly equal. And this opinion will appear the more probable, if we attend to the fact, that, since a duty, *ad valorem*, has been charged on most articles of export, and more attention has been paid by the Inspector General, in calcu-



lating the real value of articles exported and imported, the amounts of each have been estimated to be the same within a few 100,000 pounds.

If the estimated difference between the value of our imports and exports has not been thrown away, by being paid for our foreign expenditure, there is not need of further argument to prove, that their value must have been equal. For there is, in truth, no principle, in the science of Political Economy, more certain, than, that the imports and exports of a trading nation, must, on the average of a few years, exactly balance each other, after it has acquired so much of the precious metals as is necessary for the purpose of circulation, and of supplying the demand of its inhabitants for articles of plate. For, if a nation, fully supplied with the requisite quantity of coin and of plate, were this year to export to the amount of ten millions more than it imported, and receive the balance in bullion, inasmuch as this addition to its stock of the precious metals, would be superfluous, their price would decline, until it would be profitable for the dealer in bullion, to export this superabundant quantity; and, as it would not be exported, without some other commodity being received in return, the next year, the imports of this nation would exceed its exports, and the equilibrium would be restored.

It being then the fact, that our imports are of equal value with our exports, consequently, that no gold or silver is received for the profits of the latter branch of commerce, it follows, that these profits are received by the nation in other merchantable commodities. This often takes place in a direct way. A merchant, for instance, exports to Portugal 800*l.* worth of woollen cloth, which is there sold for 1000*l.* He thus gains 200*l.* profit on this sale; but he orders wine to the amount of 1000*l.* consequently this gain is not received in gold or silver, but in

wine; by the sale of which at home, he realizes his profit. It more frequently happens, however, that the importer and exporter of goods are wholly distinct; that one merchant exports woollen cloth, for example, and another imports wine: but this makes no alteration in the result, in a national point of view; neither does the circumstance of the balance of trade being against us with one country, and in our favour with another; for if the whole of our imports collectively, be equal to the whole of our exports, and if we receive no quantity of the precious metals in payment for the excess of our exports, it is indisputable, that the profits of our export trade are received in vendible commodities.

Although every thing which man desires may be called wealth, yet, of this genus wealth, there are many species, varying very considerably in their qualities, and in their real value. Permanency or durability, in particular, seems one of the most important attributes of wealth, a quality, the possession of which, renders one kind of wealth of much greater intrinsic value than another, though of the same nominal worth. Thus, of two nations, if one employed a part of its population in manufacturing articles of hardware, another in manufacturing wine, both destined for home consumption; though the nominal value of both products should be the same, and the hardware should be sold in one country for 10,000*l.* and the wine in the other for the same sum, yet it is evident, that the wealth of the two countries would, in the course of a few years, be very different. If this system were continued for five years, in the one country, the manufacturers of hardware would have drawn from the consumers of this article, 50,000*l.* and, at the same time, this manufacture being of so unperishable a nature, the purchasers of it would still have in existence, the greater part of the wealth they had bought; whereas, in the other nation, though the wine manufacturers would have

also drawn to themselves 50,000*l.* from the consumers of wine, yet these last would have no vestige remaining of the luxury they had consumed. It is evident, therefore, that at the end of five years, the wealth of the former nation, would be much greater than that of the latter, though both had annually brought into existence wealth to an equal nominal amount.

Some wealth, then, being of so transitory and evanescent a nature, that after its consumption, no trace of its having existed, remains; and wealth of another description, being endued with more durable qualities, so that after its purchase and use by the consumers of it, it will still retain the whole, or part, of its value: it follows, that a quantity of the latter kind of wealth, may be exchanged for a quantity of the former, of a much larger nominal value, and yet no increase of wealth accrue to the nation making the exchange. Thus, the two countries above mentioned, might agree to exchange the produce of their industry. The manufacturers of hardware in the one, might exchange with the other, the articles which they had been accustomed to sell at home for 10,000*l.* for as much wine as would sell at home for 12,000*l.* and thus get a profit of 2000*l.* But, the question is, would this profit be an increase of national wealth? surely not. If we do not content ourselves with skimming on the surface of things, but inquire in this case, as we ought to do in every case, *whence* this profit arises? we shall find, that it could proceed from the consumers of the wine only: that, unless these purchased the wine, the manufacturers of hardware could neither realize the value of their hardware, nor their profit upon the wine, and consequently, that whatever the latter gained, the former must lose, and the national wealth would remain just the same. And at the end of a very short period of time, where would be the wealth which this nation had received for its hardware? It would be consumed, and every relic of it annihilated; and, notwithstanding

ing the greater value of the wine imported, the nation would have been much richer, if it had retained its own unperishable manufacture\*.

Let us apply this reasoning to our own case. If we examine a list of the amount of our imports, we shall find, that more than half the value of all that we import, a much greater amount than any thing we can possibly gain by our commerce of export, is made up of wealth of the most fugitive and evanescent kind, of articles no way necessary for even comfortable existence, and which are wholly consumed before the end of the year in which they are imported, leaving not a vestige of their having ever existed. Thus, we import annually tea to the amount

\* Dr. Smith has in several parts of his work, indirectly adverted to the essential difference between durable and perishable commodities; but on this, as on several other topics, he has fallen into great inconsistency. He has laughed at the idea of "Reckoning that trade disadvantageous which consists in the exchange of the hardware of England for the wines of France;" (Bk. IV. chap. i.) and has denied that the trade which the workman carries on with the alehouse is a losing trade: (Bk. IV. chap. iii.) yet he has expressly allowed, that "Some modes of expense seem to contribute more to the growth of public opulence than others," and he has entered into a detailed chain of reasoning to prove, that a nation will be richer in proportion as its members expend their revenue, not in *perishable* commodities, such as wine and luxurious food, but in durable commodities, such as ornamental furniture, books, statues, &c. (Bk. II. chap. iii.) Ought he not, then, to have been consistent, to have allowed, that if the iron which has been sent to France for the last 50 years in exchange for wine, had been retained at home,—not in the shape of superfluous "pots and pans," but in "useful and ornamental furniture"—that we should have been now richer than we are? Would, indeed, the nation be poorer, if the palates of our rich men had remained ungratified with claret and burgundy, and the "pots and pans" which have been sent to France, were now contributing to the comfort of the thousands of our poor who scarcely possess a pot or a pan?—Again: In stating the advantage which a nation may derive from exporting the gold and silver, which a paper circulating medium has rendered superfluous; he says, if this gold and silver be employed "in purchasing such goods as are likely to be consumed by idle people who produce nothing, such as foreign wines, foreign silks, &c. their expenditure *is in every respect hurtful to the society.*" (Bk. II. chap. ii.) But surely Dr. Smith would not pretend, that it made any difference whether these foreign silks, &c. were purchased with gold and silver, or with other goods. If it would be "*hurtful to the society*" to expend its superfluous gold and silver in such articles, it must be hurtful to it, to expend its durable manufactures in them.—Bishop Berkeley was impressed with more accurate notions on this subject, when he asked "Whether an expense in building and improvements doth not remain at home, pass to the heir, and adorn the public? and whether any of these things can be said of claret?" *Querist*, Q. 405.

of four or five millions sterling ; sugar and coffee for our own consumption to a larger amount ; and we may fairly estimate the value of the wine, rum, brandy, geneva, tobacco, and fruit, which we consume, as equal to eight or ten millions more. Twenty millions, then, and upwards, do we pay for these articles, of which there is not one, that we could not do very well without ; of which there is not one, (if we except sugar\*) that we should not be much better without, and the whole of which are speedily consumed, leaving “ not a wreck behind.”

This being the case, with what propriety can we be said to derive any accession of wealth from our commerce ? We do, it is allowed, gain annually a few millions by our export trade, and if we received these profits in durable articles of wealth, we might be said to increase our riches, though still comparatively, but in a slight degree, by commerce ; but we spend at least *twice* the amount of what we gain, in luxuries which deserve the name of wealth but for an instant,—which are here to-day, and to-morrow are annihilated. How then can our wealth be augmented by such a trade ? how will such a negative source of riches suffice to be referred to, as creating the immense positive wealth which we enjoy ?

We are so much accustomed to the error of considering two things, that can be sold for the same money, as equally valuable to the nation which con-

\* It may be said, that sugar, being highly nutritive, contributes to the support of those who use it, whilst the other articles enumerated, afford no nourishment whatever. But this substance is used in such small proportion, by those who consume the least quantity of other kinds of food, that we can scarcely, with justice, attribute any value to it, in this point of view : and certainly none at all, unless it could be proved, which it would be very difficult to do, that a person who uses sugar, consumes, on that account, so much less of other food.—It is here necessary to observe, that I am fully aware, that sugar, rum, and coffee, being the produce of our own colonies, and therefore, in truth, commodities of the home trade, ought not strictly to be regarded as articles of our foreign commerce : but as these articles, as well as the exports to the West Indies, and those to America on account of the West Indies, are always enumerated in the list of imports and exports, it is not possible in a work like this, to distinguish between them, and the articles properly designated as the objects of foreign trade.

sumes them, because they are equally valuable to the individual who sells them; that we do not by any means estimate with accuracy, the different value of different kinds of wealth, in a national point of view. Yet a case may be imagined in which this difference would be intelligible to every one.

Suppose, instead of indulging in the luxuries of tea, wine, and spirits, that it were the fashion for every inhabitant of Britain, to inhale once a year, a quart of the acriform fluid, called, by chemists, nitrous oxyd;—that this air was to be obtained only from France, and that the price of it was one guinea a quart. Suppose also, that we paid for this 12,000,000*l.* worth of gas, by sending woollen cloth to France to that amount, importing in return, this invisible and elastic wealth, in a proper contrivance of bladders, casks, balloons, &c. Would not an unprejudiced observer laugh at our extravagant folly, if we should make a clamour about the profit which the nation gained by this trade, because it took off our woollen cloth to so large an amount? Would he not justly say, “These people are infatuated. Because the individuals concerned in exporting this woollen cloth, and in importing this gas, gain a few hundred thousand pounds profit, they fancy, that their nation gets rich by this trade, not considering, that they are giving away twelve millions of permanent wealth, which may last for years, and might have been hoarded to an immense amount, for—what? for air; for the mere indulgence of a moment, which is of no earthly benefit to its consumers, and which in one day is expended, and rendered of no value whatever! They do not see, that if they were without this trade, and kept all their woollens,—if they distributed them in Sunday coats to their industrious poor, or in blankets to the thousands of their fellow countrymen, who with their wives and children are now forced to shiver through the bitter nights of winter \* for want of these ne-

\* See Hayley's *Life of Cowper*, 4to. Edition, vol. iii. p. 347.

cessaries which they are absurdly exporting as superfluous—they would be much richer than by exchanging them for such a fleeting substance ;—they do not perceive, that though their merchants may draw to themselves a million per annum profit from this trade, the nation loses by it twelve millions per annum."

If the considerations just adduced serve to show the folly of the opinion, which should conceive any national wealth to accrue from such a ridiculous traffic, as that alluded to, they will equally prove the fallacy of the belief, that this nation gains great wealth by its commerce. For, though the tea, brandy, wine, &c. for which we pay annually so many millions in more permanent wealth, are not of quite so volatile a nature, as an equal value of nitrous oxyd would be: yet they are fully as unnecessary for all the purposes of comfortable existence, and when consumed, leave no more traces of their having ever been. And, inasmuch as we pay for them, an amount much greater than the whole of any profit that we can possibly derive from trade, it is clear, that it is from some other source that our wealth is created.

The circumstance, that a vast proportion of the articles we import in return for our exported goods, is of such a fugitive and evanescent description, does not seem to have been sufficiently attended to ; and as the deduction from this fact is of great importance, and cannot be made too plain, I shall beg to make one more illustration, to prove the impossibility of our getting rich from our commerce.

Sir Richard Arkwright, by his invention and employment of improved machinery, in the spinning of cotton, annually gained great riches. But would he ever have been wealthy, if he had every year spent in tea, wine, sugar, &c. destined for his immediate consumption, a sum equal to, or greater than, the whole of his gain ? Surely not. The dullest intellect must see, that he never could have acquired wealth, by this constant expenditure of his gains, in articles to be

consumed by himself, which, when consumed, left no relic behind them; however great might be his gains, and however long he might have acted on this system. If, then, a private manufacturer cannot acquire wealth in this way, neither can a manufacturing nation. The cases are precisely parallel.

If we would know who it is, that really get rich by British Commerce, we should inquire into the qualities as to permanency and necessity of the articles which we export, and compare them in these respects with the articles we import; and having made this comparison, we shall find, that it is Europe, Asia, America,—all the countries with which she trades,—not Britain, that is enriched by her commerce. Thus, we supply the inhabitants of America with clothes, with hardware, with pottery; with a thousand articles of the most pressing necessity, and of the greatest durability; and as we thus prevent the need of any great part of their population being engaged in manufactures, nearly the whole of it can be employed in the infinitely richer source of wealth, agriculture. And what do we receive in return for these benefits? Why, a vile weed, tobacco; which, doubtless, when it has gratified our gustatory organs in its original form as tobacco, or has deliciously stimulated our olfactory nerves, in its pulverized and more refined form, snuff, has most marvellously added to our stores of national wealth! The case is the same with all the other countries with which we trade. We supply them with commodities of absolute necessity to comfortable existence, and we receive in return from them such precious articles as tea—which debilitates us, without affording an atom of nourishment: as wine, rum, brandy, which do us the favour of shortening the days of a great proportion of our population. It is the countries we trade with, and not we, that get rich by our commerce.



HAVING thus stated the grounds of my conviction, that we derive no national wealth whatever, from our commerce, I proceed to the consideration of several objections, which, it is obvious, will be made to this doctrine.

1. It may be said: "Allowing that this country does not gain any direct accession to her wealth by her commerce of export, yet inasmuch as the manufacturers employed in fabricating the articles she exports, require food, they will, by their demand for the products of the earth, cause more land to be cultivated, and in a better mode, just as it has been already shown, the manufacturers of articles for home consumption do; and thus indirectly increase the wealth of the nation." I might admit the force of this objection, without invalidating, by such a concession, the truth of the conclusions previously drawn; since the *direct* creation of wealth by commerce, not its indirect influence on agriculture, is the opinion insisted upon by the disciples of the mercantile sect, the truth of which is here controverted. But there is no necessity for admitting, that our export commerce has materially increased the wealth derived from agriculture. A slight consideration of the matter will show, that it is to the consumers at home, the manufacturers of goods for exportation, as well as the manufacturers of articles for home consumption, are indebted for their subsistence; and consequently, that the *whole* of the stimulus derived from manufactures, which acts beneficially upon agriculture, is inherent in ourselves.

It is in consequence of the consumption of so great an amount of foreign commodities in this country, that there is so great a consumption of our manufactures by other nations. From the very nature of trade, it can never be carried on for any long period of time, between two nations, of which each does not produce something wanted by the other; for no nation could afford to purchase the produce

of another nation to any extent, except that other would consent to take its produce in exchange. Thus, except we purchased tobacco of America, and wine of Portugal, these countries could never consume our woollen cloth; they would be forced to deal with some other people, which would consume their produce; or if no such purchasers of their articles could be found, they must necessarily provide themselves with clothing, in the best way their means would admit of. If Britain were to proclaim to the world, "I possess within myself all that I want; I will no longer purchase your superfluous produce, though I will still permit you to buy of me what you need," she would soon find herself without a customer. The rest of the world would answer, "Much as we value your manufactures, and necessary as they are to us, we cannot purchase them, without you will consent to accept our produce in return. We possess not gold or silver, in sufficient superfluous abundance, to supply us with even a year's consumption of your articles, and we therefore must resort to some other nation, better acquainted with the just principles of trade, for the supply of our wants, or we must betake ourselves, however inconvenient it may be to us, to our own resources." It is, then, to the home consumers of foreign commodities, that we are indebted for the existence of our export trade. The British consumers of foreign articles may be considered as thus addressing our manufacturers: "You manufacture a greater quantity of woollen and cotton cloth, of hardware, &c. than our necessities, or our utmost luxuries, require: you cannot, therefore, expect us to give you your subsistence, for articles which we can make no use of; but export your superfluous manufactures; exchange your woollen and cotton cloth, your hardware, which we do not want, for wine, for tobacco, for brandy, which we do want, or fancy we want, and we will purchase the articles which have been thus transmuted by commerce, and eventually you will re-

ceive the same subsistence, the same profit, as if we had directly consumed your manufactures."

Since, therefore, no nation can export her commodities, without importing other commodities in exchange for them; since these last are consumed by the home consumers; and since, except they consumed them, no considerable export trade could be carried on, it follows that it is the consumers at home, that actually are the means of creating all the stimulus which improves and extends agriculture, whether this stimulus arises from manufactures sold at home, or exported. That this is an accurate statement, will be still more evident, if we consider, that at the very commencement of our commerce, and at every period since, the consumers of the foreign commodities imported, inasmuch as these commodities have never been the necessaries of life,—have never been food or raiment,—*might* have consumed to the same amount of home manufactures, and thus have directly supported the manufacturers employed in fabricating the articles destined for export. Just now, for instance, if the consumers of the articles, which we import and sell at home, to the amount of fifty millions, were to resolve no longer to consume them, is it not self-evident, that if they chose, they might take the place of our foreign customers, and purchase, with the fifty millions thus saved, the goods to the same amount which we now export?

2 The next objection which I shall attend to, is the inquiry which will naturally be made, "*Whence is the population which is now supported by manufacturing articles for foreign commerce, to derive its subsistence, if it be thrown out of employment in consequence of the loss of our export trade?*" In answer to this inquiry, it is necessary to state, in the first place, that a vastly smaller proportion of the population of the country, is occupied in preparing manufactures for foreign markets, than a superficial observer could conceive. Because we are accustomed to hear of this great manufacturer employing hun-

dreds, and the other, thousands of workmen, in manufacturing articles for exportation ; we fancy that some millions of the people are occupied in this branch of industry. But this is a gross delusion. Such observers will scarcely believe me when I assert, that *not 500,000 individuals are employed in this country, in manufacturing articles for foreign consumption.* Yet, that this is undoubtedly the fact, will be obvious from the following statement. From the return of the population of Great Britain in 1801, it is stated that 2,136,726 persons only, were chiefly employed in trade, handicraft, or manufactures. Now, it is well known, that of those manufactures which we export most largely, *more than two thirds* of the whole quantity manufactured, is consumed at home. Of the above number, therefore, supposing the whole to be manufacturers, nearly 1,500,000 must be employed in manufacturing articles for home consumption. But, when it is considered what a vast proportion of the whole number, is composed of mere traders, shopkeepers and retail dealers, it is indisputable, that the remaining 600,000 is a much greater number than can possibly be dependent on foreign commerce. Indeed, I do not hesitate to declare my belief, that, if it were possible to come at the truth, it would be found, that not 300,000 individuals among us, are engaged in preparing articles for foreign consumption.

If the number of those who will be thrown out of employment, by the loss of foreign commerce, were much greater than it is, there would be no difficulty in finding occupation for them : but for such a small proportion of our population, abundant new sources of employment present themselves.—In the *first* place, the augmentation of our army, is a measure so essential to our security, that it would at present readily absorb upwards of 100,000 individuals.—*Secondly*, The very cause which throws our population out of employment, creates more than sufficient additional means of occupation for them.

If Buonaparté succeed in his paltry scheme of excluding our trade from the Continent; a scheme which abundantly evinces the miserable littleness of his views on matters of political economy:—and if the Americans persist in inflaming into war, the slight grievances which their pettish folly has led them so greatly to magnify: the consequence will be, that we *must* cease to import, to an amount equal to the diminution of our exports. We may be such slaves to our appetites as to cry, “We cannot exist without tea, without brandy, without silks;” but we shall cry in vain: and we shall be *forced*, how grievously soever against our will, to practise the Spartan self-denial, which our enemies have not hesitated to submit to, when the object is our annoyance. If we cannot force the Continent of Europe to continue to purchase of us more manufactures, than they sell to us, and give us, as usual, the balance in silver, we can no longer purchase tea of the Chinese, who will receive nothing but the precious metals in exchange for this weed. If the Americans will not buy our woollens as formerly, we can no longer purchase their tobacco. In short, if Buonaparté succeed in destroying our export trade, our import trade must fall with it; and exactly in proportion as the former suffers, so must the latter. It is this inevitable loss of our import trade, which will supply the remedy for any evils that may affect our manufacturing class dependent on our export commerce. When we can no longer obtain the commodities with which foreign nations have been wont to supply us, we must necessarily seek for succedaneums at home. The only reason why we have preferred importing many articles which we can ourselves produce, has been on account of the dearness of labour in this country, when compared with its price abroad. The production of these commodities at home, will, therefore, amply employ all the hands that can possibly be set at liberty by the loss of our export commerce. If we cannot get

hemp and flax from Russia as usual, and most assuredly we cannot, if Russia will not accept our manufactures in return, we shall have occasion immediately to bring into cultivation upwards of 200,000 acres of waste land, for the purpose of growing these products ourselves. Here is at once employment provided for 200,000 individuals.—If we have no longer the silver necessary to purchase tea from China, we must set about the production of some indigenous substitute. “Where,” as Bishop Berkeley has asked, “would be the insupportable national calamity, if our ladies drank *Sage* or *Balm* tea?” and whether we use an infusion of sage, of balm, or of sloe leaves, or of a mixture of them, as we often unwittingly now do, for our social morning and evening beverage, the growth and preparation of the requisite substitutes, will call for the labour of many thousands.—To procure the barrilla which we have obtained from Spain, we shall have to grow *Salsola* on our salt marshes, if we cannot get kelp sufficient, from our *Fuci*: or we must obtain it from the decomposition of sea salt, by the various processes which are familiar to chemists.—Our sulphur must be procured from our numerous mineral compounds in which it abounds.—Our *Lichens* must furnish us with gums.—The whole of our iron, of which Russia now supplies a large proportion, must be dug from our own mines.—The coal-tar of Lord Dundonald must be a substitute for the vegetable tar of Archangel—We must grow rapeseed, linseed, and sunflowers for the supply of oil required by our woollens: and the tobacco which we now get from America, must be no longer a prohibited article of cultivation.

The bare enumeration of these new home employments, which a loss of commerce would create, is sufficient to show, on the slightest survey, that our manufacturers will, in such an event, have no want of abundant and profitable occupation. But the new employments to which I have adverted, are

scarcely a tythe of those which would be called for, to furnish the thousand articles, which at present we unnecessarily get from abroad. On this head, therefore, we have nothing to apprehend.' At no time do the members of the manufacturing class derive from their labour, more than a bare sufficiency of food and raiment. We shall still continue to produce as much of the former as before; of the latter, for a time we shall have a superfluity: and the means of enabling the members of this class, independently to *earn* their maintenance as usual, are secured to them by the very measure, which at the first glance, threatens them with misery.—On this point, I am happy to be able to confirm the accuracy of the reasoning above employed, by the authority of that profound political economist, MR. HUME. The following quotation occurs in his Essay on Commerce:—“When the affairs of the society are once brought to this situation, a nation may lose most of its foreign commerce, and yet continue a great and powerful people. If strangers will not take any particular commodity of ours, we must cease to labour in it. The same hands will turn themselves to some refinement in other commodities which may be wanted at home. And there must always be materials for them to work upon, till every person in the state who possesses riches, enjoys as great plenty of home commodities, and those in as great profusion as he desires, which can never possibly happen\*.”

3. It will be objected in the third place, “*Though we might give up some of the luxuries which we*

\* For many unanswerable arguments in reply to the objection above discussed: I refer the reader to the remarks of Mr. COBBETT, in his Political Register of 28th November and 5th December.—Much as I differ with this gentleman on many of his political opinions, I should be guilty of injustice if I did not express my thanks to him for so effectually promoting the object I had in view in publishing this pamphlet, by the large extracts from the first edition, which he has copied into his widely-circulated publication.

In some of the alterations introduced into this new impression, I have availed myself of hints afforded by the masterly arguments and ingenious observations, with which Mr. Cobbett has defended the opinions, which,

*import, without great inconvenience, yet a very large proportion of our imports is absolutely necessary to us, and could not be done without."*

This may appear, at the first glance, to be the case; but if any one will examine a list of our imports, he will be surprised to find how few of the articles we get from other countries, are necessary even to comfortable and luxurious existence; and of how comparatively small value these are, when compared with the immense amount of what we consume. We could not well do without some of the drugs used for dyeing and for medicine: we should want olive oil, perhaps, in the preparation of our woollen cloths; saltpetre (if we had not the art of the French chemists, to form it from its principles) for our gunpowder; turpentine, and the various denominations of wood, of which we do not grow enough for ourselves. Of all the rest of our imports, I can see scarcely one, that we might not very well do without, or find fully as valuable succedaneums for, from our own productions. Barilla, Turkey Carpets, China ware, silk, fruit of all kinds, grocery of every description, bar iron, linen of all kinds, skins of every sort, tar, in fact, every thing besides the articles which I have pointed out, (which no power on earth could hinder us from obtaining, and of which a few cargoes of broad cloth would annually purchase all we can possibly have occasion for), seem by no means necessary to us. —It should be considered, too, that of the most important of these essential articles, our colonies and possessions in different parts of the world, offer us an abundant supply. The forests of Canada, as well as of India, abound in the timber necessary for our ships of war; and from the former, tar and turpentine might be procured in any quantity. Some may be of opinion, that we could not do without the hemp, flax, and tallow, which we import from Russia; but there seems no reason why we might not grow a sufficient quantity of the two for-



mer articles for our consumption ; and whale oil, of the fishery producing which we have a monopoly, will always abundantly supply us with the means of obtaining light, if our own produce of tallow should be insufficient.

With respect to hemp, it is infinitely desirable, that we should raise as much in our own country, as would be sufficient, at least, for the supply of our navy ; and probably no mode of effecting this, would be equal to the prohibition of its importation, which would at once create a demand for it, adequate to raise its price to the point, at which land could in this country be profitably devoted to its cultivation. The bounties already allowed for effecting this end, deemed by the legislature so important, are evidently inadequate to its accomplishment, since but little hemp is grown in this kingdom. It might cost five or ten pounds a ton more, if produced at home, than if imported from Russia ; but this difference, or twice this difference of price, would be well sacrificed for the sake of our being independent of the world for this article, so essential to the existence of our navy. We are now at peace with Russia, and it is to be hoped, may long continue so ; but if another Emperor Paul ascend the throne, or if we have a quarrel with this, or with any future sovereign, we shall lie entirely at his mercy : for, without cordage, we cannot have ships, and at present all our hemp is received from Russia. In fact, until we grow as much of this article as is sufficient for the use of our navy, it is perfectly idle to talk of our being an independent maritime power\*.

\* When the above passage was written, 12 months ago, there was little prospect that we should be excluded from commerce with Russia. That power is now added to the list of our enemies. If we were to continue at peace with America, it is probable that we should still receive hemp and flax from Russia by her intervention : But if, as is most probable, she also declares war against us, there seems no prospect that we can be supplied with these articles from thence. We must cultivate them, therefore, at home. In effecting this, there will be no difficulty. Although our waste land is not much of it, perhaps, fit for their growth, we have millions of acres which will grow corn ; while the land now occupied for this purpose, is devoted to the cultivation of hemp and flax. And there is also, as Mr. Young informs us, much *bog-land* in the kingdom, very fit for this end.

It need not be apprehended, that we could not spare the quantity of land required for the cultivation of hemp and flax. About six acres of land are required for producing a ton of flax, and five acres for a ton of hemp; so that, supposing we consume 10,000 tons of the former, and 40,000 tons of the latter, which is quite as much as we do consume, it would require only 260,000 acres to be applied to the cultivation of these articles: an extent which we can very well spare out of the twenty-two millions of acres of waste land which are to be found in Great Britain. All the hemp, however, requisite for the independence of the navy, might be raised from 20,000 acres\*; and if, after the narrow escape we once had of being excluded for years from Russia; and after the possibility which we have just witnessed, of our being shut out from all commercial intercourse with a whole Continent; if, I say, we do not take immediate steps for the cultivation of this most indispensable of all our imports, to at least this extent, we shall be guilty of folly the most egregious, of improvidence the most culpable.

That it is desirable we should grow the *whole* of the hemp and flax which we make use of in every way, I do not mean to assert; nor, indeed, that it is either necessary, or to be wished, that we should give up the consumption of all the foreign commodities, which we import, except the few above enumerated as particularly essential to us. All that I assert, is, that by far the greater part of what we import, we could do very well without, and consequently, that in every point of view, whether considered as sellers, or as buyers, we are independent of commerce.

4. The last objection likely to be made by the favourers of commerce, to which I shall advert, is, that *inasmuch as our navy is provided with men from*

\* See a note on this head, by Sir John Sinclair, in Young's Annals of Agriculture, vol. xiii. p. 508.

*our merchant ships, the existence of commerce is requisite to maintain this great bulwark of our nation.*—Every Briton must be of one mind with respect to the infinite importance of every mean by which our naval superiority is kept up; and as there can be no doubt, that our trade *has* been one grand cause of our eminence at sea, we are certainly, therefore, in this point of view, highly indebted to it. But the question we have at present under consideration is, whether we are *now* independent of commerce; and, surely, there can be no reason why the superiority of our navy should not be continued, even if all our trade were this instant to cease. It has been shown, that the *wealth* necessary for keeping up either a naval or a military force, is not derived from commerce. We *have* ships, and we *have* sailors. What then should hinder us from increasing the number, both of the one, and the other, as well without, as with commerce? Our shipbuilders will not lose their art, if they are employed in building men of war; and a landsman may be educated into a sailor, as well, surely, on board a seventy-four, as on board a merchant ship. It may be said, “But what becomes of our navy in time of peace: and how is it to be supplied with men on the recurrence of war, without resorting to that nursery of seamen, commerce?” There is no absolute necessity, I reply, that our navy should ever be dismantled, or our seamen ever disbanded. Other nations think it necessary, to keep a standing army in time of peace. We, if we were to lose our commerce, might maintain a *standing navy*; and a fertile imagination may easily conceive and point out, abundance of important and rational occupation for such a fleet, even when not engaged in war. It may indeed admit of doubt, whether it would not be politic for this nation, even if she had more extended commerce than she has, constantly to maintain a fleet in time of peace; and, in fact, it would be madness in the present state of Europe, not to do so. Let it be considered also, that we shall, at all

events, retain our coasting trade, and that this trade is of as much importance, as all our other branches of commerce collectively, as a nursery for seamen.

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It appears, then, in whatever point of view we regard commerce, that Britain is wholly independent of it. It contributes not a sixpence to her wealth. Its influence is not necessary for the promotion of her agriculture. But a very small proportion of her necessities are supplied from it; and her navy may be maintained without its aid. Such being the case, whence can have arisen the delusion which on this subject has for so long a period clouded the judgment of almost every individual in the country, from the village alehouse politician, to the statesman in the senate? How can it be accounted for, that a nation which has, for the last fifty years, annually on the average created from its soil, wealth to the immense amount of at least one hundred and twenty millions sterling, of which a great proportion has, by the labour of its manufacturing class, been constantly transmuted into permanent riches, should have regarded this vast mine of wealth with indifference; should have even denied its existence, and should most perversely have maintained, that all its wealth, all its power, and its prosperity, were derived from its commerce? This strange obliquity of intellect, can be explained in no other way, than by adverting to the natural propensity which there is in man, to form his opinions by the examination of the mere surface of things, without ever aiming to penetrate to the remote and efficient causes of events. Because Tyre, Venice, and Holland, states without any extent of territory, and by being, in fact, the carriers merely, of other nations, acquired riches by trade, and because countries of much greater extent of soil, such as Russia, Poland, &c. without commerce, have been poor, we at once conclude, that commerce is the

only source of wealth, making no inquiry as to what other circumstances, besides the mere presence or absence of trade, may have contributed, in the one case to riches; in the other, to poverty. Because we see merchants and ship owners heap up fortunes, while men of landed property are often poor: because mercantile towns increase in population and in splendour, while villages remain stationary in these points, we conclude, that wealth is created in towns, by commerce only, not in the country, by agriculture. Yet we do not form our opinions from such a superficial glance on many occasions. We do not say, because the government of this kingdom has a revenue of sixty millions sterling, that it *creates* wealth annually to this amount, and that, in consequence, the only way to be rich, is to increase taxes. We inquire from what source this revenue has been derived, and having learned, that it comes from the pockets of the community, we determine, that it is the governed, not the governors, who create this wealth. It is for want of making a similar investigation, that we imagine all who get rich are the creators of riches. Our opinion, in fine, is thus erroneous, because, in matters of political economy, we form our judgment from facts, which are but the surface mould of a mine of innumerable strata, all of which must be penetrated before we can arrive at the truth we are in search of.

Let it not be imagined from any thing which has been observed, that it is meant to be inferred, that the character of a merchant, individually considered, is not as estimable and as honourable as of any other member of society. Though it is the farmer who brings into existence all wealth, and the land proprietor who dispenses the greatest share of it; yet, as the views of both are private advantage, not the public good, neither the one nor the other, is on this score entitled to any merit. Self-interest is the impulse which directs the industry of every branch of the community, and, in general, honest obedience

to this guide, will most effectually promote the advantage of society.

It must however be admitted, that in a national point of view, its cultivators, its land proprietors, and its manufacturers of articles for home consumption, are of far more importance to a nation, than its merchants, or its manufacturers for exportation; and hence it is the height of folly in any government to neglect the interest of the former, whilst undue attention is paid to the latter; or to elevate the latter at the expense of the former. Thus, never was there a more irrational, impolitic, and unjust, measure, than the monopoly which has for the last hundred and fifty years, been given to the exporters of woollen cloths in this kingdom, at the cost of the landed and farming interest. The exportation of wool has been prohibited, and the price depressed one half, for the alleged purpose of enabling the manufacturer of woollens, to meet the competition of foreign manufacturers in foreign markets; as though the circumstances of growing the raw produce, of possessing improved machinery, and extensive capital, were not sufficient to give the English manufacturer a decided advantage over every foreign one. And so completely have the landed interest been duped by the interested cry of the exporting manufacturer, that commerce is the heart-blood of our system, the very essence of our prosperity; and of every part of our commerce, the woollen manufacture the most important; that they have consented to give out of their own pockets annually, to these manufacturers, from two to three millions sterling; an amount sometimes greater than the whole amount of our export of woollen cloths\*. No wonder the exporters of woollens should get rich, when the land proprietors have, in one hundred and fifty years, made them a present of two or three hundred millions of pounds sterling!

\* See a convincing statement of these facts, by Sir Joseph Banks, in *Young's Annals of Agriculture*, vol. ix. p. 479.

Nor let it be conceived, that the opinion is here maintained, that a diminution of our commerce is desirable. No one can be more deeply impressed than I am, with the conviction of the value of commerce, as a mean of procuring a mutual interchange of conveniencies between distant countries; none can more highly appreciate its vast importance, considered as an engine for communicating and extending civilization, virtue, and knowledge, over every part of the globe. The sole tendency of the arguments employed, has been to place commerce on its proper basis; to strip it of the delusive and false value which has been so long attached to it, and to inculcate more just ideas of our independence. Every true lover of his country, would deny with indignation, the assertion, that Britain is in a state of dependence: yet, how can she with truth be said to be otherwise than dependent, if her wealth, her power, and her prosperity, be derived from her commerce, from a source, which the caprice of one set of customers, or the slavery of another, may at once annihilate? But fortunately, this opinion, however prevalent, is founded in error. Britain is truly independent. Her resources, the cause of her wealth and prosperity, are intrinsic, inherent in herself, and cannot be influenced by any thing external. From her soil every year is brought into existence real wealth, to the amount of at least one hundred and twenty millions sterling; and this too, by a sixth of her whole population, so that five sixths of her inhabitants are released from all care of directly providing themselves with food, and are left at liberty to be employed as manufacturers, as soldiers, as sailors, or in the multifarious other occupations which the refinements of civilized life require.

Such being the immense amount of our internal wealth, let us no longer entertain ideas of our dignity, so mean and degrading, as to believe, that all our riches and greatness, are derived from the sale of ~~a few~~ cargoes of manufactures, the whole profit of

which, even if we did not spend more than twice this profit in consumable luxuries, could not amount to above a twelfth part of the revenue we derive from our land. Let us no longer elevate our commerce to an importance so much above its due, but, considering it, as it really is, the mean of procuring us luxuries merely, which we could very well do without, let us deem ourselves wholly independent of it, and regard those whom we supply with our necessary and durable articles of manufacture, as much more obliged to, and dependent on us, than we on them. Let us no longer give ourselves up to degrading terror and apprehension, at the idea of losing an old mart for our manufactures; nor to infantine and irrational joy, at the prospect of acquiring a new one; but regarding such events with the indifference they merit, let us view these fluctuations of affairs with unconcern. In fine, let us cultivate our own internal resources; let our consumers increase their consumption of home-made luxuries, in order to give employment to the increasing population of the manufacturing class, and thus contribute, by the only mode practicable in Europe, to the advancement of the grand source of all wealth, agriculture: and by continuing to act on this system, there would be no assignable limit to our wealth and prosperity, which may be gradually augmented, till the population of Great Britain and Ireland is sixty, instead of sixteen millions; and every acre of land in the two islands is cultivated like a garden.

BESIDES the advantages just mentioned, resulting from the acquisition of right ideas, relative to the value of commerce, there are several other considerations which render correct notions on this subject highly desirable, some of which are of such importance, as to deserve a distinct attention.

Having estimated the value of commerce aright,



we need not look forward with dismay, to the occurrence of an event, which, in all probability will, in no very long period of time, take place; I mean, the very considerable diminution of our trade. The malignant attempt of Buonaparté, to shut us out from the Continent, will certainly not be long effective\*; nor will the Americans persevere many months in punishing themselves, by way of being revenged on us. It is not, therefore, to the operation of causes such as these, that I allude, as being likely permanently to diminish our trade, but to the influence of causes acting within ourselves, which, though their effect may not be perceived in ten years, nor in twenty years, will, almost certainly, eventually be productive of this result.

How is it, that we have been able so greatly to surpass the other nations of the globe, in the extent of our commerce? Because, from the amount of our capital, and the excellence of our machinery, we have had the power of underselling all competitors in the foreign market. The question is, whether we shall be able to retain this superiority? for the mo-

\* When this paragraph was written, there seemed some little hope that Buonaparté would not acquire the extended power, requisite to enforce with effect, his system of exclusion. Unhappily he has now gained this power to his utmost wishes, and the Continent is hermetically sealed against our commerce. If this system of things continues any length of time, of itself it will greatly tend to hinder our trade from attaining, in future, its wonted extent. When the Continent has been forced to supply itself with the manufactures which it usually procured from us, it will be no easy matter to divert trade into the old current. Even if we could speedily make peace, there seems little reason, from what we saw of the policy of Buonaparté after the treaty of Amiens, to hope, that he would allow the entrance of our manufactures into the Continent, of which, in fact he is the sovereign, on the ancient favourable terms. High duties and prohibitions, would give the continental manufacturers advantages which they never before possessed.—Some persons most absurdly argue, that Buonaparté's system of exclusion, is injurious to the continental manufacturers. No man can be more erroneous. Monopoly is the idol of the manufacturer; and he wishes for nothing better than such a command of the home market, as our enemy has bestowed upon him. What does he care about the high price of the raw material, if he have no competitors who can buy it at a cheaper rate? To talk that the French manufacturers cannot procure raw cotton is preposterous. The strictest blockade will not hinder them from getting it from America; but the sage politicians who reason in this way, forget that this article is grown in Turkey also.

ment the manufacturers of France, or of Germany, can offer as good an article as ourselves, at a lower price, our commerce with these countries, and with other nations, to which they have unrestrained access, must naturally cease. Now there are many reasons, which make it probable, that we shall not long retain this superiority in the foreign market, arising from the lowness of price, and goodness of quality, of our manufactures. The advantages derived from our extent of capital, and excellence of machinery, are already counterbalanced by the high wages of labour in this country, which are probably twice as much as on the Continent. Even in Dr. A. Smith's time, the English manufacturers complained, that the wages of labour were so high, that they could scarcely enter into competition with the foreign manufacturer. Since then, wages have greatly risen, and if we advert to the cause of their rise, we shall see reason to believe, that they will be still higher.

The much greater value of land and of food, and consequently of labour, in this country, than in the neighbouring nations, must be attributed to the operation of some internal and peculiar cause; for if it had arisen from the depreciation in value of the precious metals, this circumstance would have influenced the prices of land and food and labour in an equal degree in the rest of Europe. Some have accounted for this rise, from the great issue of a fictitious circulating medium in this country: but probably without reason: for though, when we compare the mint, and market price, of bullion, there seems ground for believing that our paper currency is depreciated to the extent of 2 or 3 percent.; this circumstance by no means accounts for the rise in prices of nearly 100 per cent. within the last 25 years. It is more probable, that these advanced prices, are to be attributed to the existence of our immense national debt, in which circumstance it is, we chiefly differ from the

part of Europe. In the creation of the national debt, large sums have, at intervals, been converted from capital into revenue, and have been expended, either in articles of food, or of manufacture. In both instances, the demand for food has increased; its price has advanced; and, in the end, the price of labour and of every thing else, which naturally depends on the price of food, has advanced in an equal degree. Now, if the increased rate of wages in Britain, has been brought about in consequence of the augmented amount of the national debt \*, as this debt will, ac-

\* As the high rate of wages in this country is to be attributed to the national debt, and as these high wages will probably in the end destroy our trade, if this nation were really dependent on its commerce, the existence of the national debt, and its increase, ought to be looked upon as the most essential impediments of our wealth and prosperity: and, indeed, they are regarded as such, by most writers on political economy. For my own part, however, I am inclined to believe this opinion to be erroneous, and that the national debt, instead of being injurious, has been of the greatest service to our wealth and prosperity. This apparently paradoxical position it is impossible to consider at large in this place, and I shall merely mention the general arguments on which it is built.—It has been shown, that in a country, acting on a system similar to the one we follow, agriculture can only be extended by a constant and increasing expenditure amongst the class of land proprietors; and the baneful consequences, which would ensue, if this class were to cease to expend, and were to convert its revenue into capital, have been pointed out. Notwithstanding all the declamation which has been made by moralists against the extravagance and profusion of our landlords, that is, in fact, such were inclined to save and to convert their revenue. Hence our land proprietors have never fully performed their duty, they have never expended the whole of their revenue, and thus they have not contributed to essentially, as they might have done, to the prosperity of this country. What the land proprietors have neglected to do, has been accomplished by the national debt. It has every now and then converted twenty or thirty millions, of what was destined for capital, into consumable revenue, and it has thus given a most beneficial stimulus to agriculture. Capital is essential to a nation, but a nation may have too much of it; for what is the use of capital, but to prepare articles on which a revenue may be spent: and where is the revenue to be spent, to be dissipated, if it be all converted into capital? When, during a war, a loan of twenty or thirty millions is made, in what is the sum expended? Is it not in purchasing food and clothing for the army and navy, in building ships, in purchasing arms and ammunition, &c.? From this expenditure, the farmer derives a direct advantage to the farmer, to the clothier, to the brewer, to the owner of timber, &c. And as in consequence of their increased demand, their expenditure increases, the advantage is disseminated throughout the whole of society. Expenditure, in short, is the very essence of the nation's life, and what difference can it make to the prosperity of the country, whether it is destined for this expenditure to the government or for the expenditure of the people?—It will be said, "Actualizing the original conversion of capital into revenue to have been advantageous. Are not the taxes with

cording to the present appearances of things in Europe, be yet considerably increased, we must look forward to a still greater rise in the price of food

which the community is burdened in perpetuity, for the payment of the interest of the different loans, injurious to the wealth of the society; last much as by the payment of these taxes, the consumers have their power of consuming diminished?" I answer, No. These taxes, paid for the interest of the national debt, are, perhaps, a greater cause of prosperity than the original debt was, since they are, for the most part, constantly devoted to the purchase of consumable commodities. And inasmuch as all taxes, in the end, fall upon the land, the grand source of all revenue; the land proprietors, by means of the sums drawn for the interest of the national debt are obliged to spend much more than they would otherwise do, and the more essentially contribute to the national prosperity. Those who contend that the deprivations to which the payers of the interest of the national debt, are obliged to submit to, must necessarily diminish the demand for the industry of the country, forget, that although the sums they pay, are not by themselves expended in consumable commodities, yet they are expended by the receivers of the interest of the national debt. Though a land proprietor, the farmer, the manufacturer, now consume less income than if they had not to pay one half of their income (which they really do pay) in taxes. yet the stockholder takes their place; he expands the sum which they save, and thus the effect is just the same on the prosperity of the nation. It may be hard, perhaps, that one large branch of society should have its enjoyments curtailed, in order that another smaller branch should partake a share of them; yet, as members of the same community, there seems no just reason why the interest of one should be preferred before that of the other: and it should be recollected, that in virtue of the mortgage which the stockholder holds on the real property of the kingdom, he has, in fact, a right to his share of the revenue which it produces. The real effect which results from the payment of so large a sum as the interest of the national debt, is, that twenty or thirty millions are taken annually from one part of the society and given to another; and inasmuch as by this operation, enjoyment is communicated to a larger number of human beings the national debt is in this point of view also, beneficial. Heavy taxation is doubtless oppressive to many of the members of a society, individually considered, yet, where the whole, or by far the greater part of the taxes of a nation, are expended in that nation, taxation may be carried to a very great extent without injuring national prosperity. Of the sum of money which this country pays annually in taxes, all that part which is destined to the service of government, and by far the greater part of that portion which is to pay the stockholders, is expended before the end of the year, in the purchase of food and of manufactures, and is thus returned to the society which has advanced it.—But it is urged again, that the same sum is taxes is expended in maintaining unproductive ministers, and that if the same sum instead of the government, had had the disposal of this money, it could have employed productive labourers. There is certainly the case, but if we have already productive labourers sufficient for the supplying of our wants, why increase the number? It appears, that of the population of Great Britain about two millions only are required to furnish us with all the produce of trade and manufacture, which we have otherwise occasion for, as well as our export. Why then should we wish for a greater number of productive labourers than we need? A nation which is so well supplied, that all its members should do something, and therefore, notwithstanding the times since the

of labour, and consequently, our manufacturers will find it more than ever difficult to meet the competition of foreign rivals, who can purchase labour at a

it could make use of, accumulating an immense stock of pots and pans, of tables and chairs, would be just about as wise, as a virtuoso, who should collect all the old hats and wigs he could lay his hands on. An extended population enjoying prosperity, that is, abundance of food, of clothing, and a tolerable share of luxuries, is what a nation should chiefly endeavour to attain; not merely an accumulation of wealth. Now, in this country, when the most taxes are paid, that is, in time of war, the bulk of its population enjoy greater prosperity than at any other time. Just now, for example, never were the bulk of the people so prosperous. In consequence of the demand for men for the army, where they are well fed, well clothed, and live in indolence, there is a deficiency of labourers in every branch of industry: in course, the wages of labour are high, and food being at the same time cheap, the whole of the lower class enjoys a state of prosperity, which it is impossible it should enjoy on the return of peace, (even though the taxes should be much less than they are now), when 300,000 competitors will be thrown into the market of industry. Though, therefore, the weight of taxes should grievously oppress several hundred thousand of those in the middle rank of society, whose incomes are fixed and small, yet this very oppression is the means of bettering the condition, and materially relieving several millions of the lower ranks of society. It does not indeed follow from hence, that heavy taxes are desirable; because the prosperity of the whole of society might be maintained without them; yet it follows, that heavy taxes cannot easily be the ruin of a state, where by their very means, the majority of that state enjoys greater prosperity.—The above considerations will also show the absurdity of all those calculations, by which it is endeavoured to prove, that if the national debt had not been contracted, we should have been at this time six hundred millions richer than we now are. We might, with as much propriety calculate, that if the land proprietors of this country, had for the last hundred years saved, instead of spent, their revenue, the nation would have been worth six or eight thousand millions more than it is worth now. But we perceive at the first glance, that if the land proprietors had converted their revenue into capital, for the first five years of this period, in the next five years, they would have had no revenue at all. We know, that their expenditure has increased, not lessened, their wealth; and if the national debt have tripled and quadrupled the value of landed property in this kingdom, though most other things which the land proprietor has to purchase, may be also increased in value, still it cannot have lessened the national wealth. If a land proprietor now receive 10,000*l.* a year for land, for which fifty years ago, he would have gotten only 3000*l.* a year, even though he has now to pay 3000*l.* a year in taxes, and had formerly nothing to pay, and the articles of consumption be now twice as dear as they were, still he cannot be said to be poorer in consequence of the national debt; and still less can the nation be said to be poorer in consequence of the debt, since the greatest part of the 3000*l.* paid by the landed proprietor, is transferred to the revenue of some other part of the community.—It is not meant to be asserted, that the expenditure of the whole of the sums constituting the national debt, has contributed to the wealth or to the prosperity of the country. A considerable portion of it has been expended for the maintenance of our armies in foreign countries, and another but too considerable portion of it has been spent in subsidies granted to our allies. Both these portions of the national debt have been completely thrown away, and have been of no service whatever to the

price so much less. Even if we look forward to a continuance of the present price of labour, the increased industry and capital, and improved machinery of the nations we now supply with manufactures, will, in the course of twenty or thirty years, when added to the advantage which their low rate of labour gives them, enable them to undersell us in their own, and perhaps in foreign markets. If we cast a glance at the probable improvements which would take place in the manufactures of other nations of Europe, in a few years, if peace should be concluded, we shall be satisfied of the accuracy of this statement. France, for instance, has, at present, five or six hundred thousand soldiers. When this mass of population (a much greater mass than we now employ in the manufacture of our articles of export,) shall be disbanded, and have ceased to live on the plunder of other countries, they will naturally become manufacturers; and, as France already fabri-

national wealth or prosperity. Nor do I mean to say, that the sums spent at home, might not have been much better employed, than in maintaining the large naval and military forces rendered necessary for our protection, in consequence of the wars in which we have been engaged. If three or four hundred millions of the national debt, which has been spent in this way, had been expended on national improvements, in the formation of excellent roads over every part of the kingdom, in the widening and deepening of rivers and harbours; in the building of public edifices; in the instruction of youth, and in other national undertakings; the very same advantage would have accrued to the country from the expenditure of this sum, and Britain would, by this time, have been an earthly paradise. All that I contend for, therefore, is, that notwithstanding the unprofitable way in which the greater part of the national debt has been consumed, notwithstanding the absolute and entire loss of a large portion of it, still, with all these disadvantages, it has been on the whole favourable to national wealth and prosperity. If the formation of the national debt, by the conversion of superfluous capital into consumable revenue, have been advantageous to the prosperity of the country, by the same mode of reasoning it will follow, that all attempts to pay off this debt, by the conversion of sums destined for consumable revenue, into capital which is not wanted, must be injurious to national prosperity; and hence, that the sinking fund, if it were to operate extensively, which, from the constant creation of new debt, it has never yet done, would be in its consequences highly baneful and injurious. But on this point the unreasonable length to which this note has already extended, forbids me to enlarge, and I must refer such of my readers as wish for further information, to the Earl of Lauderdale's reasoning on this subject, in his "Inquiry into the Nature and Origin of Public Wealth;" which, to my mind, is convincing, and has not been substantially refuted by any of the objections made against it which I have seen.

cates nearly as much as she has occasion for, she will then not only fully supply her own wants, but probably have a considerable portion to dispose of. The manufactures of Germany, too, will, in time of peace, regain the importance they once had. Spain and Portugal, in their present state of apathy and indolence, need not to be feared as competitors, but if their energies be aroused, as seems likely to be the case, by a new government appointed by Buonaparté, we certainly cannot calculate upon their custom for any length of time, since they possess within themselves a profusion of materials, for manufacturing all we furnish them with. Russia, even now, does not consume any great amount of our manufactures, and in proportion as she advances in civilization, and increases her manufacturing class, will require still less. So that, even though America should find it her interest to purchase her manufactures for a century to come, and even though other openings for commerce should be made in South America, in Asia, or in Africa, still we should have so many competitors, all able to afford goods cheaper than we could, by reason of the cheapness of the labour employed on them, that our trade would, upon the whole, be greatly diminished. It is in vain to talk of the excellence of our machinery, as insuring us a decided advantage over other nations. From the very nature of things, it is impossible that we should be able to keep secret the construction of any large machine, made use of in an extensive manufacture, and, accordingly, the fabrication of our improved cotton and woollen machinery, is as well understood in France, as in England\*. Our capital, then, will be the only remaining circumstance in which we shall probably, for a time, be superior to the rest of Europe. But this superiority cannot last long. When capital is at all acquired, it rapidly accumulates; and even supposing our capital to increase, in the same

\* See the *Athenæum*, vol. ii, p. 222.

degree with that of our rivals, this event would reduce the profit of stock so low in this country, that we should be willing to lend it, as the Dutch did, to any other nations, which, in consequence of the cheapness of labour, could afford to give more for it.

As far, then, as we are at present able to foresee, it seems highly probable, that in the revolution of no very long period of time, we shall lose a portion, perhaps a considerable one, of our commerce. If the system, which esteems commerce the source of our wealth and our prosperity, were well founded, this would be a dreary and melancholy prospect. To every disinterested patriot, who carries his ideas farther than the present moment, it would cause the most distressing feelings, to reflect, that in a few years, in less than half a century perhaps, his country was destined to lose the source of her greatness, and after having stood so proudly pre-eminent amongst nations so long, was at length doomed to retrograde into poverty and insignificance. But when we entertain correct notions on this subject, no such gloomy apprehensions need dismay us. We know, that all our riches and greatness have been derived from our internal resources, ~~which~~, whether we have little or much commerce, will remain to us ; and we know, that we can always obtain the very few necessary articles which we do not produce. The diminution of our commerce, is therefore a matter of perfect indifference to us. We shall be debarred, in consequence, from the use of a few luxuries, which, on the whole, do us more injury than benefit, but all the solid foundations of our prosperity and happiness, will be unaffected and unmoved.

Another important advantage which would result from the general spread of correct ideas, on the relative value of our commerce, would be the cessation of the jealousy and envy with which we are now regarded by the rest of the powers of Europe, and by America, and a consequent diminution of the causes of future wars.



The false opinion, that all our riches and our greatness are derived from our commerce, is not peculiar to the inhabitants of this country. All the rest of the nations of Europe, as well as the Americans, are of exactly the same sentiments. And no wonder they should be. If we, who are on the spot, are so blinded by the superficial appearances of things, can it be expected, that foreigners, at a distance, should form more accurate conceptions? They see, that with an extensive trade, we are rich; whilst they, without trade, are poor. What then can be more natural, than that they should deem our commerce the cause of our riches; especially when they hear our senators and our statesmen maintaining the same doctrine, and in their speeches on the state of the nation, dwelling with rapturous exultation on the vast amount of our imports and our exports, whilst every other source of wealth is deemed unworthy of attention?

Now, it follows from the very conformation of the human mind, that the other powers of the globe must regard with envy, a rival which monopolizes what they esteem the grand source of wealth. They must necessarily embrace with eagerness every opportunity that presents itself of diminishing our share, and increasing their own, of this supposed mine of riches. Hence arose the Northern Confederacy, the late non-importation law of America, and all the various attempts which Buonaparté has made, at different times, to injure our commerce. The framers of all these schemes, have acted on the conviction, that the most effectual way of injuring us, was to do all that laid in their power, to lessen our trade. No such plans for our annoyance would ever have been projected, if correct notions of the value of commerce had been adopted by ourselves, and proclaimed to the rest of the world. If other nations knew, that we believed all our wealth to spring from our internal resources, and esteemed our commerce a mean of procuring us luxuries merely, and that we regarded them as much more dependent on it than

ourselves; they would scarcely entertain such idle hopes, as that they could ruin us, by prohibiting that part of our commerce which depended on them; or be such fools as to injure themselves, for the sake of inconveniencing us.

The people of America have been so long accustomed to hear English writers expatiate on the importance of the market which their country affords to our manufactures, that they have persuaded themselves, they could not be more effectually revenged for the insults which they fancy they have received from Britain, than by shutting up this market against her. They vainly imagine, that the loss of a market for eight or nine millions of our manufactures, will be of such serious injury to us, that we shall eagerly accede to all their demands, in order to avert so dire a misfortune; and, therefore, though they are sensible that we can do much better without their tobacco, than they can do without our woollens and hardware, they are willing to suffer this inconvenience, fancying that they can exist a year or two without our custom, whilst we shall be ruined without theirs.

Buonaparté, too, proceeding in the same way with the Americans, has believed, that if he could annihilate all our commercial intercourse with the Continent, he should do much towards destroying our resources for carrying on the war. He has accordingly long ago interdicted the use of English manufactures in France and in Holland; and having now unfortunately acquired the means of enforcing his mandates over the whole of Europe nearly, he makes himself full sure of accomplishing his purpose.

But neither Buonaparté nor the Americans, would have ever formed such wild projects for our annoyance; much less would they have resolved, even to injure their own subjects, in order, if possible, to ruin us, if they had not been so grossly deluded, with regard to the actual importance of our commerce to us, by the erroneous ideas on this point, which we

have so long maintained, and so industriously propagated.

It may be said, if our commerce be really no source of our wealth, it is of little consequence, whether our enemies diminish it or not; but it should be considered, that though the loss of any particular branch of commerce, is of small moment in a national point of view, it is a very serious inconvenience to the individuals who are concerned in it; and on this account, an evil which it is highly desirable should be avoided. For the sake of humanity, too, it is greatly to be wished, that more correct notions, as to the real sources of national wealth, and the relative value of trade, were universally spread amongst the nations of the world. They would then no longer think it necessary to wage destructive wars, for the sake of extending their commerce. They would no longer endeavour to trick and cajole each other in the formation of commercial treaties; nor think it necessary to permit the importation of the products of one neighbour, whilst those of another were prohibited, or loaded with heavy duties; thus giving constant occasion to jealousies and disputes. But, being convinced, that the only source of wealth is the soil; that every country possesses within itself abundant sources of wealth and prosperity, and that commerce is but an interchange of superfluities, alike beneficial to all, and the origin of wealth to none; they would apply themselves, in the first place, and principally, to their concerns at home, and be little anxious to extend their trade with other nations, except as a mean of increasing the enjoyments of the human race, and of spreading religion, civilization, and science, over the globe.

Another advantage, and the last which I shall advert to, which would result from the spread of correct ideas on the relative importance of commerce, would be, freedom from all anxiety respecting our present or future possession of the colonies which belong to us in different parts of the globe.

On the system, which esteems commerce as the grand source of wealth, colonies, inasmuch as they confer a monopoly of their trade on the nation which possesses them, are regarded as of first rate importance; and no expense is thought too great for the purpose of acquiring new, or retaining old, establishments of this kind. Of all the powers of Europe, Britain has engaged most deeply in the colonial system, and she herself, as well as the nations around her, attributes a great portion of her wealth, to the number and extent of her possessions in the eastern and western hemispheres. If this opinion were founded in truth, if our colonies were really such sources of wealth as they are represented, we should have great cause to look with dread into futurity; for the chances, that we shall for any long time maintain possession of them, do not seem much in our favour. We have seen one colony, in the immediate neighbourhood of our own, wrested by the negroes from its European mother country; and have we not great reason to fear, that the slaves of our colonies, with such an example before their eyes, will, sooner or later, release themselves from our authority? Should the blacks of St. Domingo be able to resist the attempts of the French for their subjection, and succeed in establishing an independent and regular government, they will not fail, by means of their commercial intercourse, speedily to become civilized and powerful. When these changes have taken place, they will certainly leave no stone unturned, to break the chains of their brethren under our dominion; and, with the local advantages which they possess, it will be next to a miracle if they do not succeed.

Our possessions in the East are still less secure. Of late years, the difficulties of maintaining our authority there, have rapidly augmented; and it seems morally impossible, that a native population, of thirty or forty millions, surrounded by jealous powers, ever ready, on a favourable opportunity, to

## *Britain Independent*

aim at the reacquisition of the territory they have lost, and, assisted by the military skill and knowledge of our European enemies, should long continue in subjection to a few thousand Englishmen.

If, then, our colonial possessions are held by so unstable a tenure; if we have so good reason to believe, that we shall be deprived of them, before any long period has elapsed, surely we must gladly listen to any well-founded arguments, which shall prove, that on this score we have nothing serious to apprehend; and that though our East and West India colonies, were lost to us to-morrow, inasmuch as we gain no wealth from our commerce with them, it would, in a national point of view, be of no importance to us.

But, as the false doctrine of the importance of colonial possessions, as a source of wealth, has taken such deep root in the minds of most persons, and as it is almost deemed an axiom, that our commerce with them is particularly profitable, I shall beg to advert a while longer to this point, though I shall be obliged to repeat part of what I have before advanced on the subject of trade in general, and though this is not exactly the regular place for this discussion.

It is maintained, that our commerce with our colonies, is particularly advantageous, because the capitals employed in raising the produce which we import from thence, are British capitals; and because the profit derived from the employment of these capitals, is drawn into, and expended in, the mother country. But a slight attention to the subject will show, that these circumstances do not render this species of commerce more profitable than any other species. I admit, that if the greater part of our colonial produce, were sold with a profit to foreign nations, and if this profit were drawn, either in gold or silver, or in any other wealth, into the mother country, we should then gain an accession of wealth, equal to this amount from our colonies. But the fact

is, that by far the greatest portion of the produce of our colonies, is sold and consumed at home; and the West India planter does not realize his profit, until this event has taken place. It is therefore from the consumers at home, that the profits of this, as well as of all other commerce of import, is derived, and consequently, there is no creation of wealth effected by it. The proprietors of land in the West Indies, annually import into this country, sugar, rum, coffee, &c. to the amount of about ten millions, and in general may gain on these articles, a profit of one million. But is it not self evident, that this profit is drawn from the consumers of West India produce, and, that exactly in proportion to the gains of the planter, is their loss? It may be said, perhaps, that as the value of our imports from the West Indies is ten millions, and the value of our exports not half so much; and as we certainly do not send there any balance of the precious metals, there must remain a clear national profit of the difference in value, between the imports and the exports. This, however, is a mistaken supposition. Though Britain does not directly export, perhaps, more than five millions worth of her manufactures to the West Indies, still, as it is with the capital of her subjects, that these islands are cultivated, she must eventually pay the whole cost of bringing their produce to market; and consequently, she cannot gain more profit by this trade, than the West India proprietor gains. Now, it is very well known, that the profits of West India planters are by no means one hundred *per cent*. Twenty years ago, by the estimation of one of the strongest advocates for the colonial trade, Mr. Long, eight *per cent*. only, was the profit of a West India planter upon his capital\*. Since then, complaints of the unprofitableness of the trade, have been increasing every year, and, just now, the merchants concerned in it, find it necessary to apply for permission to open a new

\* Young's Annals of Agriculture, vol. x. p. 938.

channel at home. for the consumption of their produce, in order to realize their ordinary profits \*. The

\* It has been lately announced (November, 1806) in the public papers, that the West India merchants have had communications with government, for the purpose of obtaining permission for the use of sugar in the breweries and distilleries, in lieu of barley, and it is added, that such an arrangement has been made. I sincerely hope this is a mistake. If not, well may we exclaim,—When will governments learn to let affairs of trade take their own course, and cease their pernicious schemes of relieving one part of the community at the expense of another ! At different periods it has been thought requisite, for the encouragement of agriculture, to give a bounty on the exportation of grain. Now, it seems, it has been discovered, that agriculture flourishes too much, and it is proposed to deprive the farmer of one of the principal markets for his barley, for the advantage of the West India planter. But can any thing be more impolitic than to discourage the cultivation of our own soil, for the sake of promoting the cultivation of soil in the West Indies ? The principal reason, however, why such a measure should be deprecated, is, that we shall thereby deprive ourselves of one valuable resource in times of occasional scarcity of food. The same senseless clamour which has in this country been raised against dealers in corn, has been frequently turned against our practice of devoting so much land to the production of corn for horses, for breweries, and distilleries. It has been said “What a shame, that the food of so many human beings should be thus consumed !” It is not considered, that our habit of raising so large a quantity of the inferior kinds of grain, which we apply to other purposes than the food of man, but which may at any time be made to contribute to his subsistence, furnishes us with a granary, if it may be so called, to which, whenever there is need, we can have recourse, and most effectually ward off the possibility of famine. If all the grain in this country were consumed as the food of the inhabitants, what would be our condition, if the next year, for instance, our harvest should fail, and we should continue to be, as we now are, excluded from supplies from the Continent ? Or, what would our condition be, at any period, if, what is by no means an improbable supposition, the countries from whence we usually draw our supplies of grain, in times of scarcity, had at the same time a scanty crop, and not more than their own seeds required ? It is evident, that on such a supposition, we must submit to all the horrors of famine. But while we continue to raise so many millions of quarters of barley, of oats, of beans, none, or very little of which, we make use of for food, it is obvious, that we can scarcely in any case, suffer more than a slight inconvenience from a deficient crop of our usual food, wheat : since we can always, on such an occurrence, cease to drink ale, to distil spirits, and to feed our horses with corn, and can make use of the barley, oats, and beans, thus diverted from their usual office, as food for ourselves, until the return of another harvest. In this point of view, it is of incalculable importance, that the production of grain usually devoted to other purposes than the food of man, but which, when occasion requires, can be employed as a mean of subsistence, should be encouraged in the greatest degree possible : and hence the proposed permission for distilling spirits from sugar, will be injurious to the country in two ways. It will depress the most profitable of all branches of industry, agriculture, for the sake of encouraging a branch of industry, which is no source of profit whatever ; and it will materially tend to diminish the internal and certain, and therefore inestimable, resources of the nation, and the occasional deficiencies of grain.

only profit, then, that Britain can get by this trade, is the profit of those concerned in it. The West India planter would never pretend, that the nation gets rich by our colonial commerce, when he derives no profit from his trade. But the profit of the West India planter, is merely transferred to him from the consumers of his articles ; the nation, therefore, cannot gain any accession of wealth whatever from this trade, any more than from any other trade of import.

From our possessions in the East Indies, it is still more clear, that we derive no accession of wealth. No one will pretend, that the tea, &c. which we import from them, are raised by British capital, and consequently, every one must admit, that whatever may be the profit of the East India Company, on the articles they import, the whole of it is drawn from the consumers of these articles ; and therefore, that the dividends of the East India proprietors, are no creation of wealth, but a mere transfer from the pockets of the community to theirs. The only way in which any national profit could be drawn from our East India territories, would be from taxes levied upon the inhabitants there, and transmitted to England. But it is well known, that the East India Company's expenses, far exceed any territorial revenue which they derive from their unwieldy dominions ; so much so, that they are already upwards of thirty millions in debt, which, in all probability, the nation will very shortly have to take upon its own shoulders.

Thus, then, in every point of view, it appears, that this nation derives no wealth from its colonial commerce, any more than from any other branch of commerce ; and hence, although there is certainly no reason why we should give up our colonies, so long as we can preserve them without any enormous expense, yet we may dismiss from our minds, all fear and anxiety as to our future possession of them. If we are deprived of them by the occurrence of events, out of our power to control, we have, for our consolation, the reflection, that they are by no means essential to



our well being ; and, that as our wealth has increased since the loss of the most important of our colonies, North America. so, it certainly would continue to increase, though we had not an inch of territory on the globe, besides our own favoured island.

Many other considerations naturally arise out of this subject, but the limits which I have prescribed to myself, forbid any further extension of my remarks. I shall have attained the end which I had in view, in writing these observations, if even a few of my countrymen are induced by them, to give up the humiliating and degrading opinion, that Britain, —of all the nations that ever existed, the most rich and prosperous,—is indebted for her prosperity to the powers around her, and dependent for a continuance of these blessings, on the caprice of one set of customers, or the tyranny of another :—If even a very small proportion of my readers are led by the arguments here adduced, to participate with me in the gratifying conviction, that our wealth and our greatness, are wholly derived from our own resources, and independent of every thing external ; and that, though Britain, according to Bishop Berkeley's idea, were surrounded with a wall of brass, ten thousand cubits in height, still she would as far excel the rest of the nations of the globe in riches, as she now does, both in this secondary quality, and in the more important ones, of freedom, virtue, and science.

FINIS.

*Just published,*

BY THE SAME AUTHOR,

# THE RADICAL CAUSE

&

OF THE

PRESENT DISTRESSES

OF THE

WEST INDIA PLANTERS

POINTED OUT ;

And the inefficiency of the Measures which have been hitherto proposed for relieving them demonstrated ; with Remarks on the Publications of SIR WILLIAM YOUNG, BART. CHARLES BOSANQUET, Esq. and JOSEPH LOWE, Esq. ; relative to the Value of the WEST INDIA TRADE.

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See a Criticism in the *Edinburgh Review*, No. IV. (which was published three weeks *after* the above pamphlet) on the publications of MESSRS. YOUNG, BOSANQUET, and LOWE ; in which the opinions advanced by the Reviewer, relative to the cause and remedy of the West India embarrassments, are precisely the same with those which were here first promulgated.



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L E T T E R

TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE

*PRINCE OF WALES.*

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R. GOSWAMI, Printer, Little Green Street.

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L E T T E R  
TO  
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS  
THE  
*PRINCE OF WALES;*  
WITH A SKETCH OF THE  
PROSPECT BEFORE HIM.  
*APPENDIX, AND NOTES.*

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BY  
W. A. MILES, ESQ.

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• Those who read for ideas, not words, will be enabled to fill up the outline.”

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## P R E F A C E.

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THE Author of the following pages never belonged to either of the parties which distract our public councils; on the contrary, he has repeatedly disapproved of the conduct of both: their squabbles, so disgraceful to themselves, have been little else than a miserable scramble for places and patronage; and it is owing to these contemptible disputes, and to the errors which marked the commencement of the present reign, that the lamentable situation of the country is at this moment to be ascribed.

The Author owes it to himself, and to the sentiments he has invariably professed and acted upon through life, to repeat, that he is no less an enemy to anarchy than to faction:—that, in love with repose, it is impossible he can be a friend to tumult and disorder; and, in hazarding his unimportant opinions on public affairs, his object is not to excite, but to prevent revolution. Having had opportunities of observing the interior of different states, and of appreciating the talents and principles of those who governed them;



having been a spectator of those abuses which led to their subversion; and having had access to sources of intelligence not always within the ordinary reach of individuals like himself, he is confirmed in the opinion he long since entertained, that the revolutions, accomplished by the people, have always originated in the guilt and imbecility of those who have had the direction of their affairs. A proper attention, on the part of princes, to the legitimate objects of their institution, is the best security they can have against insurrections and rebellion; and whenever sovereigns and their ministers have the wisdom to make these objects their rule of conduct, revolutions will cease to perplex and desolate the world; it cannot therefore be too often or too strongly enforced on the minds of each, that oppression justifies revolt. The want of integrity, of wisdom, and of military talents in sovereigns, in their ministers, and in their generals, has exposed the different nations of Europe to the calamities and disgrace in which they are involved. It is no easy matter to force the people out of their habits of obedience. Harassed and vexed, it is natural they should murmur and complain; but the injustice and oppression that compel them to revolt, must have passed all the ordinary bounds of forbearance, and when a crisis so terrible and afflictive arrives, the intemperance of their resentments may indeed be a fit subject of lamentation, but it never can be a

matter of reproach, except to those who have urged a nation to so direful an extremity.—The despicable intrigues of Count Trauttsmandorff, General d'Alton, and Crumpppen, the chancellor at Bruxelles, threw the Austrian Netherlands into the arms of France. The inhabitants, a wealthy, industrious, and virtuous race of men, were perfectly happy, until the frivolous vexations of Joseph the Second, and the cabals of the court of Vienna, violating at once their ancient laws and usages, excited discontents, and finally forced them to renounce all obedience to their sovereign. Generally speaking, the people on the continent did not desert their sovereigns even in the hour of distress;—on the contrary, those weak and perfidious governments, whose fall has excited no pity, really abandoned the people. It was in courts and palaces that France met with secret and open abettors, and not in free towns, villages, and cottages. It is to the vices and follies of that motley group, of kings, ministers, and generals, that the vast changes on the continent are to be attributed, and not to an inconsistency, repugnant to the habits of the people, whom guilty and incapable ministers, and their no less culpable masters, have libelled, in order to conceal their own turpitude or folly in the first instance, and to have an excuse, in the second, for exterminating those who had the courage to resist or to expose their delinquencies. This conduct, if a

comparison familiar in common life can be made consistently with the gravity of the subject, resembles that of a peevish nurse, without kindness or discretion, who first provokes the child to cry, and then unmercifully scourges it for crying.

The ingenuity of modern times appears to have been chiefly directed to the business of finance, in order to furnish ways and means to governments become unnecessarily expensive, and to courts become indecently extravagant. The former, of late, seem every where to have employed their little wisdom in devising taxes, and the whole of their authority in exacting them; and when the comforts of the lower classes have been diminished, or rather extinguished, by contributions levied on their hard earnings, to support the profligacy of courts, and the rapacity of ministers; when even the common necessities of life have been placed beyond the reach of honest industry, and the distress has been aggravated by the unavailing tears of helpless infants crying for bread; when fiscal extortions have left no refuge from famine but insurrection or despair, and a beggared people, provoked by oppression, have preferred revolt to submission, the strong arm of power has been instantly raised, and they have been treated as rebels by those who had a much better claim to the name, and were far more deserving of the punishment they inflicted on others. In offering

these well-authenticated facts and observations to those who are most interested in estimating their value, the Author feels assured that he gives a much better proof of his loyalty, and love of order, than those who only support Government for its abuses.

It may perhaps be matter of surprise, that as he had, on a former occasion, addressed a Letter to the Prince with a degree of warmth, on the prudence of which the world was much more divided, than on its justice, he should again have renewed a correspondence under impressions not altogether so unfavourable as those which were felt and avowed in 1795\*.

It is due to His Royal Highness and to the Public, to account for the appearance of a pamphlet demanded by the urgency of the times, and to confirm the assertions advanced in the following pages by an appeal to facts.

Disgusted with the conduct of all parties, and beholding, in their frivolous contentions and in the corruption of the times, a prolongation of the miseries entailed on the country by the odd mixture of servility and of presumption in the character of Mr. Pitt, the Author had retired to a distance from the metropolis, with scarcely a wish to return to it, when a circumstance unexpectedly occurred, which occasioned

\* Vide Note A in the Appendix.

him to quit his solitude and come to town. Under the idea that he could, from his continental connexions, and the bent of his studies for several years, be usefully employed, a member of the late Administration, of whose rectitude and dignified conduct in public and in private life, the world has but one opinion, suggested a foreign mission, in May 1806, which Mr. Fox seemed disposed to approve, and but for his unfortunate illness, would have sanctioned. In consequence of this prospect, the Author removed, with his family and effects, from Dorsetshire to London, made the necessary arrangements for going to the continent, and was highly gratified to find on his arrival in town, that the Prince had been graciously pleased voluntarily to dismiss from his memory the severity of the well-meant admonitions contained in the Letter addressed to His Royal Highness in 1795, and even to recommend that the Author should be employed.

It is unnecessary to enter into all the unimportant circumstances which intervened to prevent the execution of the proposed mission, until it was completely extinguished by the dissolution of the Administration. It was then proposed as a compensation for the disappointment, that a person who had the promise of a public employment should be solicited to cede his pretensions in favour of the Author : but though he felt the full value of

so flattering a mark of kindness, he also felt it would be unfair to stand between the hopes of another, who might perhaps be less able to contend with the difficulties of the times than himself, and the offer was of course declined under impressions of gratitude, to which a conduct so generous was well entitled.

In this project of employment, a desire had been intimated, in the most affable manner, that all foregone circumstances should be dismissed from the memory of the Author, as they had been from the recollection of the Prince of Wales; and the Author was assured that His Royal Highness had testified sincere wishes to have him engaged in a line in which his manly conduct had given evidence of his capacity to render useful service to the country. —This generous act of oblivion so spontaneously offered by the Prince, certainly announced a magnanimity of temper, which, while it had a proper effect on a heart not insensible to impressions of gratitude, authorized a hope that the country has nothing to apprehend from a disposition, in which resentment and revenge have never yet found admittance.

The sentiments and dispositions of His Royal

Highness involved in this transaction, and necessarily explained to the Author, were every way worthy of a British Prince, and announced a disposition so fully in unison with the public feeling, and so decidedly in favour of peace, as to leave no doubt that whenever the pitiful and crooked policy shall be removed, which has, with equal art and malignity, kept His Royal Highness in the back ground, the nation will find the energies of his mind equal to the exigences of the times, and that, where there is mind—there is virtue.

It is a mistaken notion that the Prince is indifferent to the fate of the empire, or insensible to the distresses of the people. Awake to the melancholy prospects of the former, and to the unexampled calamities of the latter, with a disposition to avert the one, and to alleviate the other, he is without the means of doing either, and can only deplore what he has not the power to remedy. With talents confessedly adequate to the important concerns of public trust, and with a capacity for application, well calculated to give effect to those talents, His Royal Highness has been excluded by a policy, as barbarous as it is pitiful, from all concern in public affairs, exhibiting in his own

person, amongst the other novelties of this extraordinary reign, the distressing spectacle of an Heir Apparent to the British throne an exile in his native land ! Whenever the people seriously reflect upon this well-known fact, their conclusions on the policy of a conduct so injudicious, will not be very creditable to the loyalty or integrity of those who have advised a measure so little consonant with the genuine principles of the English constitution, and so likely in its consequences to be no less pernicious to the interests of the country than it has already been to the feelings and personal character of the Prince. It would seem harsh to reproach the confidential advisers of His Majesty with a deliberate intention to degrade his eldest son in the public opinion, in order hereafter to disqualify him for the throne ; and yet it is difficult to put any other construction on the state of banishment, if it can be so called, in which he has passed full thirty years of manhood. At an age to be consulted on the justice and expediency of the measures of Government, the Prince is referred, in common with the meanest of His Majesty's subjects, for a knowledge of public events and transactions, to the journals of the day ; and that the indignity shall lose nothing of its force, it is offered under circumstances which imperiously call on Ministers for an unreserved and confidential intercourse with the immediate successor to the throne, not only as a matter of respect due to His Royal Highness, but



of duty to their future Sovereign. . The dilemma in which the country has been placed by a series of impolitic measures, and disastrous results, combined with the very advanced age of the King, and the known defect in his vision, which incapacitates him for reading the public dispatches, and even those papers to which his royal signature can alone give currency, seem to stigmatize the ignorance and seclusion in which the Prince is designedly kept, as having something ultimately in view far more criminal than intentional disrespect to the Heir Apparent. In private life, slights are insults, confined to those to whom they are offered ; but in the present instance they are indignities of vast extent and meaning, and, if faithfully interpreted, may be found to have revolution for their object, for they tend to debase as well as to depress the character of those to whom the people should be taught to look with reverence and affection. The elasticity of the mind can only be preserved by the vigour of its own exertions. Discouraged, restrained, or proscribed, as it were, the full exercise of its faculties, it falls back wounded on itself, and sinks into an apathy destructive of its powers and resources. Had the Prince, from his childhood, been instructed in what it most behoves him to know ; if in his advance to manhood he had been better advised ; if His Majesty, left to follow the natural impulse of his *own* inclinations, had blended the character of the

father with that of the sovereign, had initiated his son in the duties annexed to high station ; if, watching the progress of that mind, on whose correctness and energies the prosperity of millions may hereafter depend, the King, in his parental fondness, had fashioned it by those maxims which are the best support of Monarchy, it is probable that the Prince would have escaped those errors into which a contrary conduct has betrayed him, and to which all the misfortunes of his life, perhaps those of the country, may be attributed. If in his conduct there has been much to blame—if his selections have not always corresponded with his acknowledged taste and discernment, let his youth and inexperience, when these intimacies were unhappily formed, be also taken into the account, with the shameful neglect of those, whose better knowledge of mankind should have informed him of the danger of connexions unworthy of his birth, and whose duty it was, to have rescued him from peril and dishonour. Brought up amongst his countrymen—living amongst them by preference, and possessing, perhaps, in common with themselves, a full share of those indiscretions which belong to his age and nation, some consolation may be derived from the reflection, that, with all his imprudences, the education of His Royal Highness has been entirely English, and that neither his manners nor his principles have ever been perverted or stained by the arbitrary maxims of a foreign court.

The very education of the Prince is a voucher for his attachment to the liberties of the people; and when what has been exceptionable in his conduct shall be contrasted with what is known to be amiable in his character : when the distance is recollected at which he has been designedly kept from public affairs—when all the circumstances of ministerial artifices are revealed—when the nation is informed that not one of the conditions held out to His Royal Highness to seduce him into an unfortunate engagement has been fulfilled\*, it will be found that his present obscurity and apparent indifference to public interests, are the result of a practice systematically persevered in against him, and that he is “ *a man more sinned against, than sinning.*”

A statement of facts will bring back the reflecting part of the community, to the more accurate opinion they formed of men and things in 1763 ; it will teach them the difference between a well-dissembled attention to the forms of religion, and a faithful discharge of its most important obligations. They will find it is not always prudent to confide in appearances; that the exterior of devotion is not necessarily connected with the practice of morality; and that when men are satisfied to take things upon trust, against the stronger

\* One of the conditions was a solemn assurance that the debts of His Royal Highness should be paid without an application to Parliament—it was on its being positively promised that the people should not be called upon to pay them, that the Prince presented, and the world well knows, with what fidelity the engagement has been kept !

evidence of sense and feeling, they ought not to complain if cunning usurps the place of wisdom, and hypocrisy that of virtue. The Prince, incorrect as he may have been, will be found to have strong claims on the indulgence of the country, whenever the whole of his afflicting history undergoes an examination adapted to its importance. His character is no secret. His follies and irregularities are before the world, blazoned with all the colouring which public feeling has given them, and with all the exaggeration that interested malice could bestow ; but the progress of truth, though slow, is sure ; its march is progressive ; fraud may impede its route, and force for the moment arrest its course ; but neither force nor fraud can change its destination.

Those who have similar feelings with the Author, as to what parents owe to their children, will lament, with mingled sentiments of surprise and grief, that the King should never, at any period of his long reign, have invited his eldest son to assist at those councils which he is destined to guide, or in early life have initiated him in the nature of duties, and obligations, too complicated to be understood without much study, reflection, and experience. In private life, the gentleman, if he does not bring up his sons to some profession, instructs them at least in the management of their concerns ; the mechanic, anxious for the future welfare of his offspring, instructs them in the bu-

sinness that maintains them, and, by his affectionate foresight, prevents their becoming a disgrace to themselves or burdensome to the parish :—and are obligations of this description less binding on a Sovereign than on a private individual, bound only to respect the circumscribed concerns of his own family, and whose want of principle or of prudence extends no farther than the chandler's shop, with which he deals? Surely the duties of a Sovereign are not light and unimportant obligations, nor is knowledge intuitive; it must be acquired: the nature of the high trust with which he is invested is not confined to time or place—it takes in future ages to an extent far beyond the mind's vision, and embraces distant climes. A Sovereign has much to learn, and much to perform—but the education of Princes, radically wrong, seems, even after the terrible misfortunes which have resulted from a system as absurd as pernicious, to have made little impression on the common sense of mankind; empires descend to the next in succession with less conditions annexed to them than an entailed estate, and are seized upon as an inheritance by the fool\* or knave in succession,

\* If Bonaparte has not always shewn in his own conduct what a King ought to be, he has at least shewn what a contemptible race of beings have dishonoured royalty in modern times. Without wisdom to govern, or even sense enough to select men capable of advising them, he is more

without an idea of any responsibility to God or man being annexed to the inheritance. Away with the profligate servility that destroys royalty, while it pretends to worship it; that denies it has duties to perform, or obligations to discharge, and maintains, contrary to experience, that it is as secure from infamy and reproach, as it is from the gibbet. Is the state that provides for the maintenance of Sovereigns to have no security for their capacity and good behaviour? Are they alone entitled to mock the laws, affront decorum, and to enjoy, without desert, what is due only to a rectitude of conduct and a decency of manners?

To pursue this subject any farther would lead to a train of reflections, not very pleasant to indulge in, nor very prudent to reveal; nor is it necessary. “Thoughts crowd on the mind——

indebted to their vices and their imbecility for the proud pre-eminence he has obtained, than to his genius or his fortunes, transcendant as they are.—Born in a luckless hour for themselves and for the people whom they impoverish and misrule—with intellects barely sufficient to know they can be vicious with impunity, their crimes are without provocation, and their arrogance without dignity. Sovereignty, burlesqued by their folly and rendered odious by their guilt, is degraded in the public opinion, with little chance of regaining the respect it has forfeited. With nothing more of royalty belonging to them than its pageantry, the fall of such men can neither excite wonder nor commiseration. Their career through life is known only by the waste they occasion, as the progress of the snail is traced by its slime; and, as they have lived despised, they die unlamented.

wishes to the heart—and words to the pen ; but to those who think——enough has been said—— and to those who feel—— the Author is afraid to say more\*.”

\* Vide a most excellent pamphlet, <sup>†</sup> certainly one of the best, if not the very best, that has appeared on Irish affairs, entitled, “*A Sketch of the State of Ireland, past and present.*” It throw's a blaze of light on that distracted, ill-fated kingdom, sufficiently strong to illumine Ministers in their intricate course, and to enable all descriptions of its inhabitants to better see their way, and to better understand their respective and reciprocal interests than they appear to have done ; if the Author is as honest and as independent as he is enlightened, he deserves to be idolized, no less in England than in Ireland, as the common friend of both nations.

# F A C T S,

&c.

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SIR,

It is impossible to contemplate the actual state and future prospects of this country without feeling to what extent the fortunes of Your Royal Highness may be involved, should an obstinate adherence to measures, obviously inadequate to the ends proposed, continue to harass the minds of men in the same proportion as they have hitherto impaired the resources and endangered the independence of the empire.

It is not meant at present to examine the origin of the ruthless contest in which we are engaged, or to discuss the prudence or ability with which it has been conducted. Whether the object of the former was to arrest the revolution in its commencement, by re-instating a weak and hapless monarch on a throne he could neither dignify nor preserve; or whether it was undertaken for the less justifiable purpose of crippling a powerful and



rival nation, in the moment of internal anarchy and distress, are very unimportant questions at this period of our warfare; and in the present disproportioned state of the two countries, such an investigation would be as foreign to any useful purpose, as any question in metaphysics. Whatever may have been the motives of those who plunged us into a contest, which has given to France the entire dominion of the old continent, and brought the safety of these kingdoms into hazard; whatever their object may have been in waging unequal war, with means so little adapted to the ends they may have designed, events the most disastrous have abundantly proved that the views of those who directed His Majesty's councils were, if not impracticable, at least beyond their ability to accomplish; and if we are to judge of the wisdom of their conceptions by the result of their measures, the most servile of their adherents will be ashamed to compliment them on the extent of their foresight, or the depth of their understanding. Whatever blame, however, may belong to those to whom the King has, at different times, confided the management of his affairs; whatever may have been their infatuation, their blunders, or their guilt, limits would certainly have been prescribed to each, if the country had not unhappily adopted their errors, and made their vices, in some sort, its own. A respectful deference on the part of the people,

to the judgment of those who are entrusted with the executive government, is necessary for the preservation of that just subordination which forms the very essence of all civil institutions, and constitutes the best cement of society. It animates those who have the direction of public affairs, to a laudable exertion of their talents, while a blind and bigoted confidence, an indiscriminate approbation of all public measures, running officiously before like an avant courier, and with wild and unmeasured license, prodigally applauding Ministers in advance, as if Heaven had made them infallible, argues a mean and servile submission to power in whatever hands it is placed, as incompatible with the interests of a nation, as it is offensive to manhood. It is giving to authority the homage due only to an honourable discharge of its functions, and if so irrational a surrender of all principle should not insure immediate public ruin, it leads to the subversion of all those wholesome ordinances and regulations for which men have consented to live in community with each other. Obedience, like confidence, has its limits ; its obligations are conditional ; and instances may again occur, in which resistance is as much a duty, and may be a virtue in as high a degree, as loyalty. The most abject flatterer of despotism will not venture to deny this truth as a general proposition ; it is for those who are entrusted with the destiny of nations to avoid a par-

ticular application of the principle. It is sometimes prudent, Sir, in private life, to recur to past transactions ;—if not for a clue to extricate ourselves from the consequences of imprudence, at least for a knowledge of facts and circumstances which may enlighten our future way by shewing us the errors which misled us. A retrospect of this sort in public affairs may also have its uses, and especially when public calamity is likely to be perpetuated by an obstinate adherence to what produced it. We no longer live in ordinary times, nor is it by ordinary means we can hope to recover the level we have lost.

Europe, torn asunder, and dislocated by a revolution, the most extraordinary in its origin, progress, and effects, of any recorded in history, has assumed a face and character entirely new ; she presents a hostile front to us in every direction from the Dardanelles to the North Cape, and armed at all points, is resolved to oppose our landing, either as friends or enemies, on her interdicted and inhospitable shores.

The causes which have conducted this country to a situation so novel and alarming, require to be fully investigated ; the investigation may lead to the discovery of facts, not generally, though necessary to be known, and which, while they disclose the afflicting sources of the terrible

quarantine imposed on us by France, may enable us to decide upon the best means of removing it. It is full time, Sir, that the season of delusion should end; nor should Your Royal Highness dissemble to yourself that the country has been hurried with an indecent alacrity into hostilities, without being apprised that she had sustained either an insult or an injury of sufficient magnitude to justify a measure so violent and unprecedented. Neither should it be forgotten that the objects for which we were plunged into war in 1793, and evidently resolved upon by \*\*\*\*\* early in 1791, remain at the distance of fifteen years to be explained. In order to have a more correct view of the transactions of those days, it will be proper to examine the great event of the French revolution divested of all the terror it was made to excite in the minds of those who ought to have been superior to delusion, and above all to the meanness of conniving at the little frauds by which the people were seduced into an approbation of an aggression as unprovoked as it was impolitic. To judge impartially of that extraordinary event, with a view to decide upon the wisdom of treating it with the harshness it received, even before it could possibly have given us offence, or rationally have excited alarm; we must no longer behold it as the *Jack the Giant-killer* or the *Raw Head and Bloody Bones*, it was artfully, not to say maliciously, represented to be in Parliament,

and out of it, in order to frighten all ranks and descriptions of people, into an abhorrence, not only of France, but of those principles which fixed the sovereign authority of these realms in the family of Your Royal Highness; nor will it be amiss to divest yourself, Sir, for the moment, of that generous feeling which the emancipation of millions is apt to create in minds not naturally torpid, or rendered insensible by pride and education to the general interests of humanity. Reason may now be allowed to resume her empire, without any very imminent danger to social order, to the altar or the throne \*. The period to which I have presumed to refer you, is sufficiently removed to allow the judgment to act unfettered by fear or prejudice; the passions are no longer agitated, and stunned as it were, into something like sobriety, by the triumphs of a people whom we would have extinguished in return for the friendship they proffered; it is probable that even those who were the most eager for a contest productive of so much calamity to mankind, may be the first to acknowledge the sad consequences of their infatuation, and to execrate their preposterous credulity in a Minister, who had the singular and mischievous dexterity of concealing, in the arrogance of his pretensions, and in the loftiness of high-sounding expressions, his absolute ignorance of foreign affairs and his evident incapacity to

\* See Appendix, Note B.

conduct to any happy issue the war in which he had, from personal motives, embarked the whole of Europe. Conscious that his talents and attainments would be found inadequate to the high station he filled, in the event of hostilities, he felt no disposition, in the first instance, to a rupture, which he was aware might prove the tomb at once of his fame, his fortunes, and authority; but on its being intimated almost in the infancy of the revolution, that he must *war with France, or resign* \*, he preferred the sacrifice of character, of public duty, and of principle, to the loss of place, and blindly rushed into a contest, which has brought the fortunes of your house, Sir, and the independence of the nation, into hazard. If the consequences of Mr. Pitt's shameless dereliction; if the effects of his unpardonable precipitancy on an occasion, which, more than any other, required a long and solemn pause, had terminated with the mischievous career of that gentleman, his death might have been hailed as an auspicious occurrence for the country, for Europe, and the world; but the wound he inflicted on the vital interests of these kingdoms has descended, it seems, as a legacy; and his executors, faithful to their trust, are willing to corrode and inflame it into a gangrene. Happily, the wound is not yet mortal; though deep and viru-

\* See Appendix, Note C.

lent, it is to be cured ; but to be cured, it must be probed.

In order to have a full and complete view of all the various occurrences which have led to the present deplorable state of things, it will be necessary that Your Royal Highness should take a retrospective view of that epoch in our history, when England, in profound peace with all the world, and every where respected and beloved, was, in fact, a letter of credit and of introduction for every British subject wherever he appeared ;—it was at this epoch, so flattering to the honest pride of the country, and so favourable to the general interests of mankind, to the cultivation of arts, commerce, and manufactures, to the consolidation of those conquests obtained by the valour of our troops in the four quarters of the world, and to our domestic felicity, that your Royal Father, little aware of the vast ruin that would ensue, was advised, in a hapless moment, to disturb the settled tranquillity of the empire, and engage in a ruthless contest with his own subjects. Until the indiscreet rupture with our American colonies, the peace of Europe seemed assured for ages ;—even the perfidious ambition of the Courts of St. Petersburg and of Berlin was not able to seduce those of London and Versailles from that pacific system, which both felt to be conducive to their mutual benefit, and both seemed desirous to preserve, until

the weak and impracticable project of dragging three millions of free men on the distant shores of the Atlantic into unconditional submission, opened prospects of aggrandizement to the latter, at the expense of the former, and plunged the whole world into a state of warfare, from which it has had little or no respite.

When the injudicious measure of deriving a revenue from America was again resorted to, it was urged by Ministers, that the dignity of Government was involved in the question of taxation, and that nothing short of “*unconditional submission*” could atone to the mother-country for the outrage offered to her authority, or ensure her supremacy in the revolted colonies. Parliament having pretended to an omnipotence it could neither justify nor maintain, became pledged to support its own imprudence, and to approve of a measure which was to extinguish for ever its power in the colonies, and to wrest from the Sovereign the most valuable appendage of his crown. The people were seduced to become confederates in this guilt, by assurances that taxing America would necessarily prevent an augmentation of taxes at home, and contribute to reduce those burdens which an expensive war had rendered unavoidable;—while the mercantile interest, anticipating a monopoly of the commerce which the colonies had hitherto shared in common with Great Britain, gave their ready assent



to a conflict which severed one half of the empire from the other, and alienated the affections and loyalty of its numerous inhabitants from the parent state. Injustice ceases to be a crime in the estimation of those who expect to be benefited by it. When men depart from the most obvious maxims of right, it is not common sense, or even policy, that can school them back to better principles : it is disgrace, misfortune, or ruin, that can alone bring conviction home to their minds ; and it is not always that these monitors, potent as they are, can make a durable or even a transient impression on the delinquency they punish, or shame it from the guilt or imprudence that dishonours it. The Crown, fortified in its pretensions by the pride and plaudits of a Parliament, not entirely free from the reproach of venality, by the senseless clamours of the multitude, whose passions had been inflamed by their wants, and by the rapacity of trade, which, blind to consequences, often overlooks future bankruptcy in the pursuit of present gain, rushed confident of success into the fatal contest, and with an infatuation bordering upon insanity, flattered itself with approaching its object, in proportion as its distance from it was enlarged, until seven years of uninterrupted disasters and defeats forced those who had been most vociferous for the war, to join in the general cry for peace.—The impo-

licy of attempting to enforce pretensions which had been successfully resisted, and whose legitimacy had been firmly denied, never occurred to those who advised the measure, until they were compelled to abandon it. They contented themselves with taking *opinion of counsel*, as if a contest between three millions of revolted subjects and their former Sovereign, with arms in their hands, was to be settled like a disputed account current, or an alchouse score. It was by the advice of two lawyers not very friendly to liberty, that the "unconditional submission" of America was prescribed as the measure of her future loyalty. If it should appear strange to the present generation that judges and barristers should be consulted upon questions of state, far beyond their very limited sphere of action, and not always within their competency to pronounce upon, it will appear no less extraordinary that any minister should have presumed, in a limited monarchy, to have proposed terms of such abject submission to men better apprised of their rights, and resolved to defend them. But the arbitrary principles of Lord Chief Justice Mansfield and the pert though cowardly malignancy of Mr. Wedderburne, were far more in unison with the unfeeling despotism of that temper which preferred subjugation to conciliation, than with the pathetic admonitions so solemnly, repeatedly, and prophetically urged by the late Lord Chatham in one House of Par-

liament, and by the late Mr. Fox in the other. This great epoch in British history offers to Your Royal Highness a melancholy instance of how little avail are considerations of justice and expediency, when men listen only to their passions and their prejudices. When Lord Mansfield declared the Americans had passed the Rubicon, he might have proceeded with the parallel, without doing any discredit to those whom he would willingly have subjected to the proscriptions of Sylla or of the Triumvirate. Surely, Sir, the wisdom of desisting from pretensions disputed sword in hand, might have been acknowledged, without any dishonour to the Crown, or any abatement of its legitimate authority. A voluntary surrender of an authority improperly assumed has nothing degrading in it; but an obstinate adherence to error endangers the authority itself, and exposes those to mockery and derision, who seek to support it by violence.—It will, perhaps, be fortunate if the loss of our American colonies is the only parallel to be found in the reigns of Philip the Second and George the Third. In the present instance, the power assumed by Great Britain over her revolted colonies was questioned by those who most respected the constitutional rights of the subject, and who unequivocally declared, that taxation and representation were inseparable; but natural or acquired rights are of little moment in the estimation of men, who,

proud of dominion, and not aware of its instability, are disposed to acknowledge no other right than the right of the strongest. The Administration, in those days, seem to have forgotten that it was far more derogatory to the dignity of Government to urge a questionable authority, contrary to the firm and decided sense of the people, and especially as it struck no less at their chartered than at their inherent rights, than it would have been to recede from a measure, as offensive in the mode, as it was unconstitutional in its principle. There are instances in which to concede is to acquire, as well as to atone; and there is surely more dignity, more magnanimity, in acknowledging an error, than in obstinately persevering in it. A claim of sovereignty has no rational foundation, opposed by a claim of right. The one is a mere creature of accident and of events; while the other, interwoven in our very frame and nature, braves the casualties which degrade or exalt states and princes, and exists independent of all civil compacts. It may not always be prudent, or always in the power of an oppressed people, to contend for the validity of their rights; but Your Royal Highness is too well read in history not to know, that whenever circumstances have enabled mankind to come forward with their pretensions in one hand and a sword in the other, their march has been irresistible, and their triumph complete.

Unhappily for America, and much more so for Europe, the love of dominion superseded all the considerations of policy and justice. Those who directed the councils of His Majesty spurned the milder dictates of expediency and humanity; and in their lust of power, carried on the destructive contest, first for revenue, then for sovereignty, and finally, from revenge, until they were disgracefully compelled to acknowledge the independence of those whose "*unconditional submission*" to undefined authority, it was pretended, could alone satisfy the wounded honour of the country. The wisdom of concession never occurred until it was forced on us by the defeat and capture of our armies, commanded by the ablest of our generals; and after a ferocious conflict of seven years, and the national debt augmented to nearly four hundred millions, under the fallacious pretext of obtaining a revenue and establishing our sovereignty, we were forced to a dishonourable surrender of the one, and a consequent renunciation of the other. It was in this manner, Sir, that a considerable part of your splendid inheritance was torn from Your Royal Highness, at an age when you were little aware of the value of what you lost. This natural result of a war of prerogative ought to have served as a beacon to Ministers, and especially when they had neither the excuse of revenue, nor of national honour and dominion, to plead in extenuation of a measure so impolitic and ruinous. The present

contest well analyzed, and stript of all the gaudy pretexts with which its advocates have constantly decorated it, will be found to have been in its origin precisely the same, and for a foreign prince, in whose fortunes this country, politically speaking, had little cause to be interested.

It cannot, however, have escaped the observation of Your Royal Highness, that this contest has shared the fate of its ancestors; but if, after its interment, if I may be allowed the expression, a battle for the phantom is to be carried on, it well behoves you to reflect how much those prerogatives to which you are entitled to succeed, and even your dynasty, may be ultimately affected by an obstinacy as criminal as it is inexcusable.—Wars of prerogative, Sir, have never any other issue than those already cited have invariably met with. They are founded on the right of the strongest; but if it was not the continual curse and opprobrium of its champions to sin against experience, they would recollect that the strongest this day, may be the weakest to-morrow. Power partakes of the nature of a quicksand—it often shifts its position, and, like a pauper, has no fixed settlement. It sometimes happens that the very means it employs to establish itself, undermine and destroy it. Rome, no longer the mistress of the world, is become an insignificant appendage to one of the least considerable of her former provinces. The Prussian

Monarch, driven from the metropolis of his ancestors, lives in a provincial town, more like a private gentleman than a sovereign Prince; restricted to a portion of territory of far less extent than the founders of his kingdom possessed, when their subjects did not exceed thirty thousand, and when they were Sovereigns by courtesy, through the mistaken bounty of those whose descendants have been despoiled in our days of their dominion and property \*.

These vicissitudes would serve as wholesome lessons of advice to Princes and to their ministers, if power had not the pernicious quality of dazzling what it ought to illumine, and of intoxicating those whom it should teach sobriety and discretion. Happily, Sir, for the country and for yourself, no disposition to despotism has ever marked the conduct of Your Royal Highness: and when the miserable squabbles and jarring interests of the present day shall have ceased to harass and perplex the world; when the pernicious errors of many years shall be no longer felt, it will be recorded to your honour, that, more proud of British birth than of your descent, you have remained inflexibly attached to the principles which placed your family on the throne, while your Royal Brothers, with a conduct ill calculated to ensure them respect, holding in little estimation

\* See Note D.

the prejudices, the affections, and opinion of their countrymen, introduced German manners, no less foreign to our taste than to our habits, and not very compatible with the obligations they owed to the nation that maintained them in splendour, It is this conviction, Sir, that has afforded consolation to the country, and moderated the grief of those, who, feeling a warm and sincere interest in your glory, have bewailed the deplorable infatuation which holds you wedded to irregularities injurious to your fame, your fortunes, and your health. If those who have perverted the innocent simplicity of your youth, and misled you in early life into scenes of riot and expense, are reprehensible for having abused your confidence—posterity will not fail to brand with equal severity the shameful inattention of those, who, charged with the guidance of your infant years, neglected to fence your inexperience against bad advice and bad example, by giving a proper direction to a mind susceptible of the best impressions. To the criminal officiousness of one description of men, and to the unpardonable indifference, perhaps connivance, of another, who were bound, by the trust reposed in them, to have better fashioned your conduct, may be attributed all those errors which have exposed you to animadversions, painful to



your feelings, and pregnant with serious reflections for the public.

It is, however, Sir, of no avail, in the present state of your fortunes and your prospects, to deplore what cannot be recalled. The times are too awful, and your situation too precarious, to admit of idle lamentations. It is to the future that you must look, and with a firmness and decision worthy of your age and manhood, it behoves you to rectify, by a conduct consonant with your obligations to your country and society, the indiscretions of your past life, and give to the people at least the consolation to hope, that mischiefs, apparently irretrievable in this reign, may be repaired by your wisdom in the next. Your very existence, Sir, is at stake; how and by what means it has been brought into hazard can be no secret to Your Royal Highness, nor is it to my present purpose to enter into an inquiry so afflicting and humiliating. Your future safety depends more upon your own exertions than you are aware. You are imperiously called upon by the circumstances of the times, to take immediate measures for averting the ruin with which the throne is menaced, by opposing, before it is too late, an impenetrable barrier to the combined results of crime and imbecility.

In contemplating the deplorable condition to which improvident councils, and the incapable and faithless advisers of your Father, have reduced the empire, your intelligent mind will involuntarily be led to a retrospective view of the innumerable events which have conducted us, by a series of regular marches, to the dreadful precipice on which we stand, and to recede from which will require no ordinary degree of intrepidity and discretion. You will trace, Sir, in those events, chequered and widely diffused as they are, with respect to time and place, something like a systematic plan; if not to rule independent of the constitution, at least to render its wholesome checks on the authority of the Crown of little effect, by an influence in Parliament at once dangerous and unprecedented, and which in fact has virtually released Ministers from that responsibility which alone marks the difference between an absolute and a limited monarchy. It will be evident to you, Sir, that the same indecent propensity to an unwarrantable exercise of unlawful power, which marked the pitiful prosecution of a solitary individual, obnoxious to the Minister, also marked the sanguinary resolve to carry fire and sword amongst no mean portion of your Father's subjects, under the fallacious pretext of supporting his authority. An envenomed hostility against states as well as individuals who avowed a venge-

ration for the civil rights of mankind \* seems to have influenced our public councils ever since 1760; and when Mr. Wilkes, the authors, printers, and publishers, in those days, obtained for Liberty the triumph she deserved, by defeating the despotism that would have trampled her under foot, *our* malice took a bolder flight, and, blind as well as remorseless in its fury, exhibited a vengeance of a deeper dye, and of a character far more atrocious, by plunging the kingdom into a civil war which has revolutionized the moral character of the country, and had a far greater influence on the destiny of nations than is generally supposed.

The same infatuation which deprived us of thirteen colonies, appears to have precipitated us into a contest with the only power whose enmity was to be dreaded, and whose friendship was really worth acquiring. An alliance with France was always a desirable object in the opinion of enlightened men; and one of her ministers, regretting that the two nations the most civilized, the most

\* When the Corsicans resisted the tyranny of the Genoese, and, incensed at the indecency of being sold to France, asserted their independence, the British Government declared them rebels, and forbid this country to supply them with money, arms, or ammunition.—Dantzic, in 1772, was allowed to be seized by the King of Prussia, and the kingdom of Poland was annihilated without one effort being made to prevent it.

scientific, and the most formidable in Europe, should live in a state of perpetual hostility, had prepared the outline of a treaty of alliance, and had actually nominated a person to make the overture to our Government, when an intrigue of the court of Versailles occasioned a change in the administration, and put an end to a project well calculated to ensure the peace of the world \*. Those who had the interests of both nations at heart, and who saw in their union a termination of those incessant wars, which exhausted the means and resources of both, recommended a line of conduct very different to the one recently dictated by the pride, prejudices, and fears of those who saw no security for their titles, but in the retrograde motion of France to that point, from which the profligacy of her ministers and the profusion of her spendthrift court had driven her.

It may be asserted, Sir, without any very bigoted attachment to the English constitution, that it is the best calculated of any form of government, which human wisdom has yet devised, for the maintenance of civil authority and of civil rights. If faithfully administered, it affords to each individual as fair a portion of freedom as is compatible with the general safety; to the Sovereign it ensures that quantum of power necessary to bind the whole in one compact mass, and without which the public interest would be ill fenced, and the state itself

\* See Note E.

exposed to dissolution. If, from causes well known to Your Royal Highness, our boasted constitution has lost something of that force and purity it possessed in past and happier times—if those, who have too long influenced the councils of your august Father, have succeeded in lessening its value in the estimation of the people, and under the fallacious, not to say fraudulent, pretext of fortifying the throne, they have sown the seeds for its subversion—if, in order to ensure to themselves a life-interest in the authority they have abused, they have presumed to identify themselves with the Sovereign—if the honour and prosperity of the empire, with which your fortunes, Sir, are too intimately blended to be separated, have lost something of their former dignity and splendour, let it also be remembered that the less vulnerable and more wholesome parts of our invaluable constitution yet remain sufficiently entire to enable Your Royal Highness to bring back the whole to its primitive force and purity; nor can it be too strongly impressed on your mind, that the complete restoration of the constitution, to the state and condition in which it was confided to your ancestors, will be your best security for the perfect enjoyment of the splendid inheritance to which you are entitled. That your mind, Sir, is well impressed with this important truth is no longer doubted; your loyalty to the country is unquestionable; and the people may be fully con-

vinced that they have nothing to apprehend from your government, whenever you ascend the throne of your ancestors. The reverence in which you are acknowledged to hold the genuine principles of that constitution of which you are the hereditary guardian, and the aversion you have expressed at every abuse of power levelled at the liberties of the people, in whose happiness it is said you feel an interest too warm to have its sincerity suspected, authorize the hope your country would willingly entertain, that when in the course of nature the sovereignty of these realms descends to Your Royal Highness, you will prove yourself to be in the true and most unlimited sense of the word—A PATRIOT KING !

If impressions so acceptable to the prejudices and habits of the British nation, and so consonant with the reciprocal claims and pretensions of men living together in community, had uniformly marked our public councils, we should have had no occasion to lament the sad difference in our fortunes since His Majesty's accession ; nor would the prospects of Your Royal Highness be more gloomy than those under which your Father came to the throne.

In recurring to the commencement of the present reign, we are reluctantly compelled to deplore the fatal bias given to the royal mind, by a man ill qualified to form it, and ill adapted for the situation to which the mistaken bounty of the

Sovereign had raised him \*. Young in empire, and little versed in the duties of a chief magistrate, George the Third assumed the reins of government, with a mind warped by the prejudices of his preceptor, who firmly believed that kings are infallible and omnipotent: under this mischievous delusion, and incensed to find the capacity and principles of his favourite arraigned, he unfortunately entered into all the pitiful resentments of Lord Bute, and making the cause of the Minister his own, incurred an odium due only to His Lordship, and experienced, in a disgraceful contest with one of his subjects, the mortification of a defeat. History will probably question the purity of the motives that decided Mr. Wilkes to oppose the confidential servants of the Crown; perhaps it will condemn them, but it will also do justice to his fortitude and perseverance in resisting a flagrant violation of our best and dearest rights; it will gratefully transmit to posterity the name of the man, who, standing on the adamantine pillars of the constitution, unprotected but by the justice of his cause, hurled defiance at perverted power, and triumphed. This contest, so unworthy of a monarch, announced very little reverence for those restrictions with which the wisdom of our ancestors had fenced our rights against the arbitrary encroachments of the Crown; nor can His Majesty forget

\* The late Earl of Bute.

the justifiable warmth with which the nation, jealous of its liberties, resented the outrage offered to the laws in the person of Mr. Wilkes, when, confounding the criminal designs of the Minister with the credulous simplicity of the Sovereign, they taught him the danger of a departure from those principles which are alike binding on the King and People. Unhappily for himself, for his government, and for Europe, the admonition given to his Minister passed with the occasion, and rather irritated than corrected the mind they were meant to reform. It is this contest, so disreputable to the Crown, that first disturbed the tranquillity of a reign, whose subsequent misfortunes may be attributed to the errors of education, and to the facility with which men who love a court only for its sunshine, and who having little else to recommend them than their cunning and servility, obtained His Majesty's confidence, and entered into his views only to promote their own.

Compelled to abandon the tyrannical demand of unconditional submission from America, in a manner no less humiliating than the rancorous hostility to Mr. Wilkes had been relinquished: —compelled to witness the triumphs obtained by both over the despotism that would have crushed them, the Ministers who advised the measure were constrained to desire permission to retreat from office; and it has ever been matter of melancholy regret that His Majesty did not also feel the necessity



of changing a system, which impeached the sincerity of his veneration for those principles which placed his family on the throne; but unfortunately for the repose of the world, and for the credit of a reign, already sufficiently disastrous, the new confidential advisers of your Father adopted the errors of their predecessors, and prolonged the calamities of the empire.

Three different armaments\*, in the short interval of seven years, between 1783 and 1791, besides the countenance given to the wanton aggressions committed by the mercenary servants of the India Company, on the defenceless Princes of Asia, evinced that strong aversion to a state of peace, which has since been displayed with most ruinous effect, and which has encouraged an opinion as generally as, I trust, it is erroneously believed, that His Majesty is not altogether averse to war.

Whatever foundation there may be for an opinion so injurious to the Sovereign, the country was happily at peace, and its administration confided to a man who had an interest in preserving it, when the French revolution blazed a new æra on the world, and excited the fears and ad-

\* The armament in favour of the Prince of Orange, in 1787; that against Spain, relative to Nootka Sound, in 1790; and that against Russia, in 1791.

miration of surrounding nations. A gentleman\* of some political discernment, has recently observed, that "It was Mr. Pitt's first misfortune to be insensible to the grandeur of so glorious a struggle; his second, to miscalculate the consequences. The first act of France was to hold out her emancipated hands to the free states of England and of America, but the coldness of the Minister soon convinced her that in this government she was not to expect a friend. This coldness soon degenerated into enmity and abhorrence; and through every change of circumstance, through all the evolutions and forms of her government, she found in him an inflexible enemy." The whole of this quotation is literally and specifically just. It is a faithful picture of the man, who was, unhappily for his Sovereign, and much more so for his country, at the head of His Majesty's councils, when that great event, destined to change the political relations of at least one quarter of the world, occurred, and exposed the insufficiency, not to say poverty, of those talents, which venality even now has the effrontery to extol as transcendant! The fact is, that Mr. Pitt had devoted the whole force of his superficial and very circumscribed talents, to the two means by which alone he could sustain himself in office; for to this only did his pigmy ambition point. To these means alone (the management of the

\* Mr. Roscoe.

House of Commons and Finance) he confined his studies, his exertions, and his views; and it may reasonably be questioned, after the experience we have had, whether his capacity qualified him for any thing beyond them. Adam Smith was his Alpha and Omega in the one, and we have long since felt his mischievous dexterity in the other. But fiscal abilities, which may be found in almost every counting-house, are widely distinct from those which are necessary to constitute a statesman. Perhaps few men who have been at the head of our councils, had less pretensions to the character of an able statesman, than that gentleman. Totally unacquainted with foreign affairs, foreign languages, and foreign manners, with little desire to acquire a knowledge of either; impatient of contradiction, and too arrogant to be advised; with a mind habituated to detail, and not very capable of taking a comprehensive view of all the various ties and relations which gave this country a remote or an immediate interest in continental affairs; almost solely intent on the means of preserving what he had not very fairly acquired; it was not likely that the French revolution would occupy any more of his attention than as it interfered with his domestic arrangements or his love of place, or as it held out the prospect of pilfering from France in the moment of internal confusion and distress, a sugar-island or two, by the horrible expedient of a civil

war. To the misfortune of not calculating the probable effects of the revolution on the fortunes of the different nations of Europe, and perhaps the incapability of estimating the importance of an event which had, in the very first instance, given a shock to the throne of every despot on the continent, may be added the far greater calamity of its having been erroneously, as well as imperfectly viewed, not only by those who supported Mr. Pitt in Parliament, but by the leading men of those who opposed him †. Both parties fancied they saw, in the abolition of the privileged orders in France, an extinction of their own titles ‡; and, influenced by their fears, the great leaders of the Opposition agreed to make common cause with the Minister, and to suspend, for the present, all hostility to his measures. This acquisition of strength in both Houses of Parliament; this disreputable union of men, who ought, with enlightened minds, to have had views far more liberal and correct, assured the calamities of their country, and of the continent. The Minister, fortified by a dereliction of principle in those who had formerly and systematically opposed his measures, derived from the subversion of the old government in France, all that he aspired to. He had nothing so much at heart as the preservation of his place; and to this paltry, solitary object, he sacrificed his cha-

† See Note F.

‡ See Note G.

racter, his country, Europe, and his life. The acquisition of parliamentary strength, obtained by the support of the great families, whose fears had been artfully worked upon by the pestilential influence of a man \* always at variance with himself, and with as little discretion as principle, left Mr. Pitt nothing to apprehend from the feeble and disjointed opposition of Mr. Fox. Proud of a victory for which the nation is likely to pay more in the sequel than in the commencement, and with Mr. Burke in his train, like a bell-wether, proclaiming his own dishonour in the triumphs of the Minister, Mr. Pitt found an additional security for the enjoyment of office, in the ill-dissembled hatred in which his court held the French revolution. We seem, Sir, to have become alarmed the instant that guilt and incapacity were likely to be made responsible for the mischiefs they had entailed on an oppressed and impoverished people. France, at that moment, spoke in a friendly and warning voice to Great Britain. She prophetically told the Sovereign and the Parliament, what indeed both might have learnt from their own history without much labour of research, if information had been their object, that a nation, harassed and beggared by fiscal exactions to maintain a corrupt and spendthrift court, and insulted in the midst of its embarrassments, by a deceitful attempt to alleviate its burdens, will ultimately extricate itself from the op-

\* Mr. Burke.

pressions of the one, and finally punish the duplicity of the other that unfeelingly mocked public misery by augmenting the grievances it pretended to redress. But infatuation spurns advice ; and were it not that madness extinguishes itself, by the violence of its own efforts, the misfortunes of mankind would be perpetuated to eternity. The lesson given to us in those days, and which ought to have been as impressive as it was instructive, irritated those whom it should have admonished, and multiplied the abuses it should have taught us to reform. The impolitic determination to war, lest the spirit of reform, which a wasteful expenditure of public revenue, arbitrarily extorted from laborious industry, had provoked in France, should reach our happier shores, is another instance of our little foresight, and how ill we can calculate upon appearances or events. Man, with all his boasted knowledge, is merely a mole above ground, but with less wisdom, however, than the little purblind, who, cautiously exploring his darkened and intricate way, avoids the danger which the other rashly runs into ! Mr. Pitt, forced into a measure no less injurious to the interests of his country, than repugnant to his wishes, found consolation in the confidence of his Royal Master, for all the vexations imposed upon him by the pressure of so painful an engagement ; and while he secured, by his subserviency, the protection of his Sovereign, he counted on the certainty of

rendering the war popular by the facility with which he could wrest from crippled France her defenceless sugar-islands. The Royal Exchange eclipsed all other objects, to his puny vision; and while he paid court alternately to the landed and trading interests, he totally disregarded the multiplied evils he was about to entail on the far more numerous, but not less deserving part of the community. Intent solely on retaining his place, he plunged his country into war, regardless of the calamities it would occasion, and of the intolerable burdens it would throw on the lower orders of society.

The support, however, of those who joined the Minister, although avowedly for the preservation of their titles, was not given to him unconditionally; he had to provide for the necessitous, the avaricious, and ambitious, besides relieving the indigence of Mr. Burke \*, with pensions that would have gorged the avarice of old

*\* A List of Pensions granted to Mr. Burke.*

<p>£ 1200 per annum, chargeable on the Civil List for the lives of</p>	{	<p>Edmund Burke, Esq. and his Wife, and the survivor of them, by warrant, dated Sept. 29, 1795, and to commence from Jan. 5, 1793.</p>
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<p>£ 1160 per annum, payable out of the 4½ per Cent. duties, for the lives of</p>	{	<p>Edmund Burke, Esq. Lord Royston, Anchtel Grey, Esq. and the survivor of them, by patent, dated Oct. 24, 1795, to commence July 24, 1793.</p>
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Elwes. The agency of Lord Loughborough †, who had a principal share in bringing the Duke of Portland\* to the standard of the Minister, was also most liberally rewarded; and though the late Lord Stormont submitted to be only a sleeping partner in the firm to which his name was lent, it is said that he took care to make a good reversionary bargain that should bear some proportion to the extent of the concession, and the value of his support. The renewal of the Marybone lease was the great charm by which the nominal head of the Opposition was seduced to join Mr. Pitt; and when Your Royal Highness reflects upon the sum total which that

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<p>£1340, payable out of the 4½ per Cent. duties, for the lives of</p>	{	<p>The Princess Amelia, Lord Althorpe, and William Caven- dish, Esq. by patent, dated Oct. 29, 1795, to commence July 1793.</p>
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All these pensions have a retrospect of nearly two years; consequently the sum of £8520 was paid immediately to Mr. Burke, and the second and third pensions were instantly realized into a sum total of something more than £30,000. So that the French Revolution, which has proved a mischief to this country, was to Mr. Burke, as well as to others among us, a mine of wealth—but that gentleman always understood the making of bargains. At the time of the discussions on the Regency, when it was expected that event would take place, his rapacity was beyond all measurable bounds; the Pay-office was destined for him, but on no account would he hear of a Joint Paymaster. He insisted upon the whole, and his clamours on that occasion are not yet forgotten by those who were privy to the transactions of those days.

† “*There was something about this man that even Treachery could not trust.*” JUNIUS.

\* See Note H.



defection cost the nation, you will perceive that the *consideration-money* had, to the full, as great weight with His Grace, as any apprehensions he entertained of losing that portion of his inheritance, to which his conduct did the least honour.

But it is not the mere expense which the country sustained on having an entire party quartered on its purse, that so much deserves blame or mention. It is the scandal and the mischief of such bargains to Government. It is the disgrace they entail on those, whose pride it should be to prove themselves worthy of the high stations they fill. What confidence, Sir, can the people have in the integrity of men who shew their contempt of all principle, by mercenary stipulations with the Minister, which neither of them dare reveal? When men of elevated rank descend to such bargains and sale; when a traffic, so dishonourable and mischievous, is carried on with a publicity so flagrant, that the terms only remain a secret to the world; with what decency can they call upon the people for their confidence, and what must be their effrontery when they expect that homage should be paid to vice, decorated with a coronet, and clothed in embroidery? Such men may, certainly, bring an accession of what is called strength to Government, but they also bring with it a portion of bad repute, that undermines its credit, and finally destroys it. Thus reinforced by what was most disgraceful to his administration, Mr.

Pitt gave full license to the natural arrogance of his temper, and intoxicated by the easy triumph he obtained over those whom he had found means to divide, he fancied himself as formidable to the French as he was to his fallen and dispersed adversaries at home.

. Having falsified all those professions by which he had, in the commencement of his parliamentary career, obtained the popularity which floated him into power ; as reserved and phlegmatic as he was imperious, it was not likely he would participate in that generous warmth, which the country, so much to its credit, openly avowed on beholding twenty-five millions of their fellow-creatures released from the shackles of a government confessedly arbitrary, although its tyranny had been moderated by the prevalence of milder manners, and happily restricted in the exercise of undefined authority, to something like a decent resemblance with the few governments, in which personal property, fenced and secured by positive laws, have nothing to apprehend from the caprice or injustice of sovereigns or their ministers. The fact is, that what had, in the first instance, thrown the whole nation, as it were, into a delirium of joy, appears to have bewildered and stupefied its Minister. He alone seemed insensible not only to the grandeur of an event, which promised happiness to millions, but to the magnitude of its consequences. The first distinct

impression it appears to have made on his mind, was not far removed from that which is felt by those who think themselves at full liberty to plunder a house in flames. Mr. Pitt's views, with respect to France, were precisely of this description. They had no greater latitude. Instead of contemplating that extraordinary occurrence as a new epoch in the annals of mankind, he beheld only the petty warfare of contending factions, in which he felt himself so perfectly at home, that he fancied he was able to aggravate their personal squabbles into civil feuds, beneficial to his country. He only looked to the uses to be derived at the moment from the internal confusion in France, and vainly imagined that his talent for intrigue could be displayed as successfully abroad, as it had unfortunately been exercised at home. An able statesman would have taken a far different view of an event, sufficiently awful in the commencement, to have awakened far better sentiments in our public councils, if Mr. Pitt could have looked beyond the emoluments and patronage of office. A statesman with a correct and comprehensive mind, would have examined that great event *dans tout son étendu*. He would have looked at it, not only as it affected the immediate interests of the country in which it blazed, but as to the effect it might have on surrounding nations, at a distant period, and on the general fortunes of mankind, dispersed throughout the habitable globe. He

might have foreseen, that whenever the science, the genius, and passions, of an enlightened and enterprising people, were called into full activity from the obscurity and silence in which despotism, always jealous, always trembling for its existence, had held them immured for centuries; their force and influence on the laws, manners, and happiness of the civilized world, must be considerable.

These were, however, objects, if not beyond the capacity of Mr. Pitt to estimate, at least of too little import to engage his attention. Compelled to war with France or resign, he felt less difficulty in pledging himself to oppose the progress of the Revolution; and, unacquainted as he was with the force and resources of the enemy, and even ignorant of his genius and character, he precipitated the crisis which has consigned his memory to eternal reproach, and sealed, perhaps, the ruin of his country. Looking solely to the preservation of what he had acquired by intrigue, he entered into all the rash and inconsiderate councils of the man\*, who became, as it were, a focus, in which were concentrated all the wild and wicked projects of the most artful of the emigrants, distributed in every direction throughout the whole Continent of Europe; for the foul purpose of stimulating foreign powers to carry war and desolation into the very

\* The late Mr. Burke.

bosom of that country they had the baseness to desert. Animated by revenge, they paid no regard to facts, circumstances, or consequences; and while Mr. Pitt fancied he was acting for himself and from himself, he was little else than the blind instrument of men, who, when they found their greater projects resisted, never failed to make a market of their pretended loyalty to the Sovereign they had betrayed. Amongst these were to be found men of rank, who ought to have remained attached to their country, and to have shared her fortunes; and though they might have been driven for the moment by the tempest of the times from their native land, they had no colourable pretext for becoming traitors at once to the nation they had abandoned, and to the nation that maintained them. To this description of emigrants, our most pernicious enemies, whose object in calling the world to arms was merely to recover what they had deservedly lost, the Minister gave his ready confidence; but perfectly understanding the value of his welcome, and aware of his motives, they paid him in coin and laughed at him.—He was their dupe from first to last, with the additional mortification of finally knowing that he had been, throughout, imposed upon. Nor was Mr. Pitt alone the victim of a credulity which was in a manner epidemic—his colleagues gave an implicit credence to every tale, however absurd, that was brought them, and espoused the cause of emigrants, from a vanity as contemptible

as their own ; whenever Parliament calls for an account of the issues made to Mr. Wickham, while in Switzerland, for foreign subsidies and other purposes, Your Royal Highness will then learn with equal surprise and indignation, the amount of British gold paid to a banditti of adventurers, under the stale pretext of accomplishing a counter-revolution in favour of the banished family \*.

\* If my information is correct, and I have no reason to doubt it, Mr. Wickham drew for something more than the enormous sum of SEVEN HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS, during his mission in Switzerland. It will be for that gentleman to explain to the country, whenever Parliament seriously resolves to examine into the public expenditure, the uses to which that money was applied. This much is certain, that his correspondence for some time, very much flattered the hopes of his employers, and confirmed them in the certainty of a counter-revolution. That Mr. Wickham may also have been deceived into such an opinion by the Emigrants who wished such an event to happen, and by those whose object was to sport with his credulity, is very probable ; but a man who could be so easily duped, was surely not a proper person to be opposed to Mr. Barthélemy, one of the ablest negotiators in Europe. But this species of swindling was not confined to the Alps ; it was practised with tolerable success throughout the contest, and the Duke of Portland had as little discernment in London, as his protégé in Switzerland. If the records of the police of Paris are documents entitled to credit, and the adventures of Madame de la Rochechuarthe are not fictions, this lady was one of the apostles that preached a counter-revolution, and His Grace rewarded her piety so liberally, that her devotion, inflamed by his generosity, soared to enthusiasm. She even ascertained the precise hour on which the happy event was to take place, and drew on him for the proper funds, for the notable purpose, until the imposition became so evident that it awakened even His Grace

When by negotiation, in which threats and promises were alternately employed, Spain reluctantly acceded to the disgraceful confederacy, and the members of that confederacy were anticipating the increase of dominion they should respectively acquire, from the projected dismemberment of France, Your Father's Minister, too confident in his own powers, and little informed of the genius, character, force, and revenues of those with whom he had associated the honour and fortunes of the country, insolently proclaimed, that nothing short of "*Indemnity for the past, and security for the future,*" should induce him to sheath the sword. It is one of the characteristics of arrogance, Sir, to be ignorant of the poverty of its means and pretensions; and its temerity is frequently measured by its capacity to be unjust with impunity. Haughty and impatient of contradiction—disdaining to ask or receive advice, and too young to have had any practical knowledge of all the various and intricate combinations of finance in a war expenditure—totally unacquainted with tactics, the vigour and celerity necessary to insure success to military enterprises in even the most limited warfare, Mr. Pitt was ill calculated to direct a contest to any happy issue, in which each of the confederated powers pretended to superiority in command, and none would acquiesce in the frauds so impudently practised on him, and so unworthy of the understanding of a man, entrusted, in a great measure, with the well-being of a state.

knowledge an equal. But, Sir, it is as unavailing as it is distressing, to dwell upon a subject, which, without invitation or encouragement, will force itself on your notice, and claim your attention :—it calls on you to compare the brilliant and enviable condition of the British Empire in 1760, with its reversed fortunes and deplorable perspective in 1808. Abandoned by all its allies, with diminished means of warfare, and with an interdiction so rigorous and extensive of its commerce and manufactures, as to menace it with a total extinction of its resources—pillaged, betrayed, and forsaken by the different powers whom we had bribed or compelled to take part in the unnatural contest, and trembling not only for the integrity of what is left of our dominions, but for our existence as a nation ;—forlorn and alone, with the world combined against us, it may well be asked, What is become of our insolent demand in 1793, of “ *indemnity for the past, and security for the future* ? —The proud threat may now be entombed in the same dishonourable grave with the “ *unconditional submission,*” which the predecessors of Mr. Pitt would have exacted from America, if the Americans had been as insensible to their rights, as the Government that drove them by its injustice into rebellion, was to the reciprocal obligations of protection and allegiance. This country has already felt the sad consequences of having lost her American colonies—a range of sea-coast, extending almost from the Gulf of St. Lawrence



to the Gulf of Florida, abounding with large and navigable rivers, bays, indents, creeks, and harbours, without end, affords safe anchorage and protection to the ships of our enemies; and should Spain have ceded the Floridas to France, Jamaica will become of small comparative value to this country, by affording to our enemies means of annoyance beyond our reach of prevention, to the homeward-bound trade of that island. But in addition to our present calamities, if a rupture with America should be unavoidable, the means of a far more extensive annoyance to the whole of our West India commerce will follow, with the certainty of having the harbours of Newfoundland perpetually visited and ravaged by privateers, and the whole of that invaluable nursery for seamen destroyed by the total extinction of its trade and fishery. In their present reduced state, forty vessels are more than sufficient from one of our out-ports\* which formerly sent one hundred and fifty; and it is at this moment seriously apprehended that several thousands of the residentiary planters and their servants must be brought to England, and add to the general distress, by becoming burdensome to their respective parishes. How far this terrible accumulation of misery may be felt by those who unhappily possess the King's confidence, may be collected from their dexterity in hunting for pensions, reversions, and sinecures, for themselves, their

\* Poole.

relations, and dependents—their agility on such occasions has been known to occasion much jostling in the chase—some say foul play, and Lord Hawkesbury, who has had through life the full benefit of his father's advice and experience in this species of hunting, is suspected of having outwitted an old proficient in the art, by securing the Cinque-ports for himself before the snug sinecure became vacant.—When men press forward to the first offices in the state, without the necessary talents and information for employment, it proves their enrontery to be on a par with their want of principle, and it behoves the Legislature to prescribe bounds to the pretensions of those who consider the patronage of the Crown, and the funds destined by gratitude and munificence to reward meritorious public services, as fair objects of game. Whenever a state has the misfortune to tolerate such maxims, it accelerates its own destruction. A band of political adventurers, for the purposes of plunder and personal aggrandizement, will sneak into the higher departments of the state, to the exclusion of men of property, character, and abilities, whose stake in the empire would be a pledge for their fidelity. Men of this description, and we have too many of them, will seek to secure their insidious usurpations, by the creating of unnecessary places, and looking only to their own immediate benefit.

will care little for the consequences of a prodigality, which leads, by a direct road, to national bankruptcy.

The dreadful example of France has no terrors for these gentlemen; on the contrary, the catastrophe of the Court of Versailles appears to have sharpened their appetites for the very abuses which accomplished its destruction, with that of the Royal Family. When men sin against experience they can have very little claim to compassion.—The public discontents in France, in 1789, did not exceed those which may be heard at this moment in every parish in England, Scotland, and Ireland—a revolution was at that time as little in the contemplation of its infuriated and besotted Government, as a descent of the moon from her orbit, when the explosion on the 14th of July annihilated the authority of Louis the XVIth, and subverted a Throne, the oldest, and supposed to be the best established in Europe.

With a mind, Sir, so happily endowed, as you are said to possess, and with the means of giving effect to those happy endowments, let me conjure you seriously to reflect on the awful situation of the Kingdom, and on the afflicting crisis to which a regular, and in appearance, a systematic train of blunders and mismanagement, the sad consequences of obstinacy and incapacity, has brought your fortunes and those of the nation.

Sir, this is no common contest, and its character is as novel, as its origin was unjustifiable. The *bellum ad internecionem*, the impudent, not to say wicked boast of those who first involved us in this direful conflict—this war of life and death, is now retorted on us with vindictive force. Nor is the menace, like their own, an empty threat;—it is vociferously thundered from the entire continent of Europe, and silently, perhaps at this moment avowedly and cheerfully, acquiesced in by that of America.

In this unprecedented state of things—in this wild and terrific intermixture of universal warfare with domestic calamities, of an extent and magnitude sufficient to awaken apathy itself; all intercourse at an end with the nations of Europe; dangers and difficulties pressing on us with giant force in all directions, with the additional aggravation of beholding the best interests of the country entrusted to men, some of whom are unquestionably inefficient, and ill entitled to your Father's confidence;—every eye, Sir, afflicted at the apparent indifference of Your Royal Highness to the destiny of the empire, is despondingly fixed on Carleton House; the public voice, impatient to invoke your interference in behalf of a people well worthy of your confidence, conjures you to come forward with your advice at this awful moment, with a firmness suited to the occasion, and worthy of your birth and manhood.

Encourage a disposition so flattering to your feelings—so conducive to your future glory; let Carleton House become in appearance, as it is in reality, and what it ought to be, the palace of the Heir Apparent. Make it a rallying point for the friends of the constitution;—of those who are resolved to perish in defence of your family and the throne, and cease to be a cypher in the country, while the stake you have in it, is yet worth preserving.

The world, at all times extremely prodigal of blame, is no less parsimonious of its applause; and as it withholds the latter as tenaciously as it profusely distributes the former, it should teach mankind the necessity of deserving what is with difficulty obtained, and not always very liberally bestowed when deserved. Yet with all this economy of praise, there is a natural propensity in civilized man, a kind of moral instinct, if the expression be allowable, which disposes him to look up with reverence to those whom the artificial distinctions of society have pronounced his superiors. No one, Sir, has experienced the truth of these observations in a greater degree than Your Royal Highness, and if you have felt the poignancy of censure, let it also be remembered with what enthusiasm you were received the instant you were permitted to mix with the world and partake of its pleasures. It is impossible you can forget, when applause *running be-*

*fore desert*, every where hailed you as the pride and hope of Britain: an affectionate and loyal people every where greeted you welcome, and gave you credit in advance for virtues, which if you have not realized to the extent of their expectations, is more your misfortune than your fault; and may be traced, with little labour, to the pernicious influence of men whom you selected for your companions, and who, pressing forward on your notice, obtained your confidence, before you could have known the value of what you bestowed, or have been aware of the ill use they would make of it. There is a considerable portion of your life, which the future historian of the present day will pass over as unimportant, and which your friends, anxious for your reputation, would willingly veil; but if the former, regarding that space as a blank, unworthy of his notice, passes it over in silence, and those who, interested for your honour, would conceal or consign it to oblivion, you must neither imitate the indifference of the one, nor the generous solicitude of the other. They may dissemble your irregularities to the world and to themselves; but were you ever so well disposed to forget what it most pains you to remember, you are forbidden the indulgence, by the convulsions of the times and your own danger. You are personally interested on your own account as well

as from public considerations, severely to scrutinize the whole of your past life. It is from such a scrutiny, sincerely entered into, that Your Royal Highness must look for the various causes which have contributed to displace you from the proud eminence on which your high birth, in the infancy of your manhood, had placed you.

In holding communion with ourselves we have nothing to apprehend from perfidy and deceit; we may sometimes hide from the world what we wish to have concealed, but we never can dissemble to ourselves. A rigid scrutiny into past transactions is the best monitor you can have, and perhaps the best negative guide you can consult for your future conduct.

With a mind, certainly intelligent, and capable of reflection, you must be fully sensible of the jeopardy into which a series of improvident councils have brought yourself and all of us; but though your situation is perilous, it is not desperate: a mind like yours, susceptible of justice and generosity, carries within itself the means of salvation. There is nothing vicious or incurable in misconduct; it is an obstinate perseverance in it that alone gives it the stamp of vice, and disqualifies the individual for confidence. Look your errors, Sir, full in the face, and your emancipation is assured. The moment is auspicious—avail yourself of it, and ensure at once the redemption of your country and

your own—feel, Sir, for the people—feel for yourself—recover the popularity you have unfortunately undervalued, and, looking at the precarious and humiliating condition of fugitive royalty, exploring at hazard its vagrant course through Europe, remember, that, of all the mendicant orders, that of princes is the least pitied, and perhaps the least entitled to compassion. Though the people have been provoked to express, in strong language, their opinions on your imprudence, they have not been insensible to the injustice you have met with where you ought to have been most cherished and upheld. They have viewed with dislain the ready aid which the servants of the Crown have given to your total exclusion from our public councils, and often condemned, with a severity proportioned to its impolicy, that pitiful jealousy, more in unison with the despotism of an Asiatic court, than with the well-defined principles of the British constitution, that has hitherto kept you at a distance from public affairs. Those who have condemned your irregularities, have also lamented the severity of the treatment you have received. They are apprized of your wrongs as well as of your follies, and are disposed to discountenance the former, the instant you shew yourself sensible of the latter.

Come forward, Sir, as Heir Apparent to the British



Crown, and annihilate, by your presence, the cabal that, from personal motives, would keep you in vassalage and obscurity, and that has probably felt a pleasure in your degradation. Prove to your country that you are neither uninformed of the state of its affairs, nor indifferent to its welfare. The people, even at this advanced period of your life, know little of their future Prince—they have yet to learn that you have virtues worthy of the diadem you are destined to wear; and you owe it to the nation and to your family—nay, Sir, you owe it to the very forbearance of the people, to come boldly forward with a zeal and alacrity suited to the importance of the occasion, and prove yourself deserving of their confidence and affections.

When the lower parts of a mansion are in flames, it is one of the first offices of humanity to awaken those to a sense of their danger, who are profoundly asleep in the attics.—You are precisely in that situation, and the obligations of humanity are in this instance enforced by considerations of personal safety for ourselves. Attached to your fortunes, we perish in the conflagration that consumes you, and our efforts to save you are no less on our own account than on your own.—Let me then conjure Your Royal Highness not to slumber till the flames assail you, and ensure our joint ruin, past redemption.—Feel the dignity of your birth, and above all, feel alive to the

important duties it has imposed on you. The moment is propitious to your recovering the confidence of the people, and of rescuing the constitution from the danger with which it is menaced. It has been withering for something more than forty years; and those who seem to derive a guilty pleasure in contemplating its decay, who have most contributed to impair its antique massive strength, and most defaced the beauty of its elegant exterior, are for immediately extinguishing all that remains of what our ancestors wrested from the perfidious Charles, who perished, as he deserved, on a scaffold; and from his yet more wicked and contemptible son, James the Second. Your Royal Highness is yet to learn, perhaps, that a project is widely suspected to “suspend the Constitution\*.”

It is pretended that despotism must be opposed to despotism, and that nothing short of rendering the King as absolute as Bonaparte, can enable His Majesty† to call out the energies necessary for the salvation of the country. Those who are rash enough to advise a measure so hazardous to the Throne, are more considerable for their rank and effrontery, than for their number or their talents: but their temerity must be boldly met—subdued, and punished. It behoves you, Sir, as the here-

\* I quote the precise words of the champions of the measure in contemplation.

† See Note I.

ditary guardian of our rights, to come forward in your character of Heir Apparent, and stand between the people and the threatened mischief.

Those who would persuade you that the having the public voice in your favour is a trifling, unimportant object, unworthy of your notice, most cruelly deceive you.

In the present state of things it is every thing<sup>s</sup> to you—it is your best inheritance ! It is the only collateral security you possess for the Crown you are destined to wear : it is that voice alone which can restore the faded lustre of your diadem, and raise it to its original sterling worth, from its present little comparative value, to what it was in the happier days of George the Second. The fame and fortunes of a Prince can never be unimportant objects, until, by his own conduct, he degrades himself to an insignificant and solitary unit in the Empire. The people will ever feel an interest in the one, and derive consequence from the radiance of the other—his virtues vivify a nation—his courage may be necessary to its salvation. Sir, the kingdom has a large demand upon you for the one—the arrears are of long standing, and your credit requires they should be instantly discharged : fulfil your duty, and you will find their efforts joined to yours, whenever the times call for a display of the other. Do not despise public opinion—pay it honourable courtship—win it, wed it, and enjoy it—it is in

fact your best life—it is your existence—as a Prince you have no other—the statutes merely record it; the public opinion once withdrawn, they become waste paper, and you are annihilated. The project of suspending the Constitution, strikes no less at your political existence, than at the liberties of the people. One of the intrepid champions, anxious to carry this perfidious project into execution, in the latent hope, perhaps, of establishing the fortunes of his own house on the ruins of that of his Sovereign, has a character, it is said, for decision, which qualifies him to attempt, what I trust he will never be permitted to accomplish.—The natural despotism of his temper is well known, and it has lost nothing of its stern and inflexible ferocity by a residence in Asia, where it has been most wofully felt—That he aims at directing our public councils, is as well known to your porter, as it is to Your Royal Highness; and the confidence entertained of success may be collected from the arrival of his advanced guard at head quarters, and his having already planted three centinels at the outposts, one at the Treasury, another at the Admiralty, and the third in Ireland.

The idea of “*suspending the Constitution*,” is as atrocious as it is novel—it is treason of a new description, and of the blackest dye—it is without parallel in British history, and will form a singular and disgusting epoch in the annals of man-

kind, if your family, which were invited from Germany, for the specific purpose of preserving our laws and freedom, should become necessary to their subversion ! That your Father must execrate a project so criminal, and I should hope impracticable, cannot be questioned ; and whatever may have been the errors of your past life—whatever may be the aggregate amount of your indiscretions, real and fabricated, that of conspiring against the liberties of your country, or of being in the remotest degree hostile to them, or to the people with whom you have at all times identified yourself, will never be brought as a charge against you—You have sometimes shewn yourself a man of pleasure, at all times a gentleman, but never as a tyrant. The individuals of your establishment have never expressed discontent or dissatisfaction at the treatment they received from Your Royal Highness ; and if Carleton House had been a fortress, its garrison under your command would never have been provoked to mutiny by frivolities and severities, worthy only of drill-serjeants and adjutants imported from Germany—That you have nothing vindictive in your disposition has been fully ascertained by the generous interpretation you have given to my motives for the address to Your Royal Highness in 1795, and by your spontaneously forgiving, without solicitation or apology on my part, the asperity with which that letter was written.—

With such evidence of a heart well disposed, the nation will be justified in looking forward to the happiest results from your reign; and these expectations derive no inconsiderable support from the intimacy of Your Royal Highness with persons in whose integrity and independence the country has the fullest confidence; your attachment to them is no secret—it affords an inference highly favourable to your character, and offers an assurance in advance, that the interests and happiness of the people will be thought worthy of your care.

Friendships only exist where there is a similarity of sentiment; those who court the society of honourable men, have only one step more to imitate their virtues. Take that step, Sir, and you will become the idol of the people. You will extinguish the slanders and the hopes of those who would degrade you in the public opinion, in order to riot hereafter in the rich spoils of your inheritance. Establish your right to pre-eminence by the double claims of birth and desert, and justify, by your conduct, the report of your friends.

Look, I beseech you, to the mournful condition of the French Princes; yet mournful as it is, your situation, under similar circumstances, would be far more afflicting in the present state of the world. When the Count d'Artois, discarded by the nation, whose ruin he accelerated, became a fugitive, without a country or a home, “*the*

*world before him, and Providence his guide,"* all the states of Europe and the continent of America were open to him. His vices and his follies were no longer remembered, and he was every where received, if not with affection, at least with good manners, and on no occasion were the rites of hospitality refused. But if, in the event of well-founded complaints, ripening into revolt, and urged by the pressure of famine and of taxes, insurrection, assuming the bolder character of rebellion, should unhappily subvert the government, or, if an event, not absolutely impossible, nor less fatal to the Throne, the triumphs of an invading enemy, should expel your family the kingdom, in what nation—nay, Sir, in what climate could Your Royal Highness fly for refuge and for safety? Europe, irritated throughout the war, by the conduct of the British Government, would be provoked, perhaps, to reject you as connected with the author of its calamities, or receive you only to betray you. As little could you look to America for an asylum; the present temper of our former colonies is little favourable to your emigrating to the Western World, where the anger of the present day, inflamed by the recollection of circumstances neither pardoned nor forgotten, would exult at the occasion which had thrown you, forlorn and indigent, on their inhospitable shores.

Retaining in bitter remembrance, vexations offered more with a view to establish maxims incompatible with the known laws of the land, than for any wise purpose of useful polity, they will feel little disposition to separate the misfortunes of your father from the conduct of his government; and attributing the catastrophe of his family to the errors of his reign, they will consider your ruin as a retribution for the injuries they received, and, in the enthusiasm of religion, feel grateful to Providence for the wisdom of its dispensations. The Americans, Sir, are our brethren. Their ancestors and our own were the same, and descending from one common stock, they may be supposed to inherit, with our love of freedom, some of our good qualities; but I much question whether those who found cause to take up arms against George the Third, would have magnanimity enough to give his sons an honourable retreat, or a very hospitable reception. Repelled by the unanimous fiat of America and of Europe—every door indignantly shut against you—every eye turned disdainfully away on your approach, with a fate not very enviable or possible to be avoided, should you brave the malice of your fortunes in your native land, to what quarter of the globe would Your Royal Highness direct your hapless steps? To what people would you apply for succour and protection?

The times have given an importance to questions which well deserve your attention. The



danger with which you are menaced is too proximate to allow you to defer their consideration without the risk of rendering your destruction inevitable. It well behoves you, Sir, seriously to reflect on the measures it will be prudent to adopt, and to be well prepared for the eventful crisis to which the irrational spirit of those who have unfortunately been the counsellors of your Father, is marching you with giant speed. In this sad perplexity of your affairs, in which indecision is ruin, and precipitancy no less fatal than procrastination, with scarcely a chance of escaping the dangers that surround you, should a contest any longer be persisted in that has evidently survived every object for which it was undertaken, it may be important to your person and your fortunes to inquire, in what part of an empire, crumbling to pieces, Your Royal Highness may reasonably expect to escape the "*wreck of matter and the crush of worlds.*"

Is it to our possessions in Asia, torn by violence from the defenceless natives, that Your Royal Highness would direct your fugitive steps?—Bonaparte may be there before you, and have prepared a dungeon for your reception. If his views in Europe should not have been accomplished in time to meet you in India, are you so well assured of the loyalty of its inhabitants as to entertain a hope they will hail you as the son of their banished and degraded sovereign? Do not deceive yourself; be assured they better under-

stand the value of crime than to share with you a particle of dominion, or a rupee of revenue. Compelled by distress to relinquish your right of sovereignty, would you submit to become a pensioner on their compassion, with no other claim to their humanity, than your misfortunes; no other security for your safety, than your insignificance?

I think you are better instructed in the history of mankind than to indulge hopes so evidently fallacious. The Prince Regent of Portugal may find securities for a splendid establishment in America, in the ignorance, the sloth, and superstition of his countrymen; but Hindostan would never be to Your Royal Highness what the Brazils will be to the family of Braganza.—Were you forced to hazard the experiment, and commit your fortunes and your person to the mixed group of adventurers whom Great Britain has disgorged on the coasts of Coromandel and of Malabar, a curse to the hapless natives, and a dishonour to herself, what could you expect from their duty—what from their generosity? Intent on accumulating, they have nothing to bestow but upon their own pleasures; without authority and without fortune, your presence might embarrass them, but never could excite their respect or compassion. Intent solely on their own wants, they have neither leisure nor inclination to attend to the wants of

others. India their resource, and rapine their means, they faithfully attend to the object of their mission ; crime is lucrative ; and aware that charity is a drawback upon the fair profits of trade, you would have as little to expect from their pity as from their loyalty.

It is not to India that Your Royal Highness must look for safety in the hour of distress. Would Ireland afford you an asylum, or receive you as an enemy, or as a friend ? Would she espouse your cause ; incorporate her fortunes with those of Your Royal Highness, and consent to perish in your defence ? The question is worth investigating for its importance more than for its novelty, and it may perhaps induce those who ought not to be indifferent to the destiny of the lesser island to bestow some attention to a country, become their sheet anchor in the storm that threatens them with shipwreck. Ireland, so long neglected by England, and so long insensible to her own condition, being roused to a sense of her sufferings, seems to have awakened, not the justice, but the fears of Great Britain, and her temper is unhappily of that cast, that she can only be induced to discharge the obligations of the former by the agency of the latter. The system, if system it can in truth be called, by which that country has been governed from the days of Henry the Second, is admitted to have been faulty ; and if amendment always followed confession, the reign of

error would be of short duration; but feeling must often come in aid of conviction, to render it efficacious. Men must sometimes suffer before they repent, and in that case repentance is apt to come too late. The fact is, that we know little of Ireland but her complaints; and complaints where the inclination to redress them is wanting, are offensive. It is impossible that Your Royal Highness can be unacquainted with the condition of this part of your inheritance. The sources of your intelligence are too pure and too ample to have misled you on a subject so important, or to leave any doubts on your royal mind of the justice and policy of conciliating the affections of a people, who, without feeling any very strong personal attachment to your family, or being bound to it by any particular marks of beneficence, manifested their loyalty, and remained firm to the throne, when the whole of Scotland, in rebellion, followed by a part of England, supporting the pretensions of the banished Stuarts, had nearly wrested the sceptre from the immediate predecessors of your father.

From such a people you have nothing to apprehend. Deprived as they have been by the Union, of the last remaining vestige of their ancient independence; oppressed and borne down by distinctions, as insulting as they were impolitic—with wrongs to revenge, and grievances to be redressed; they would, on beholding you a

fugitive on their hospitable shores, forget in your misfortunes, the recollection of their own, and with all the simplicity and magnanimity which mark their character, greet you with the sympathy and respect due to dignity in eclipse. Ireland \* unquestionably would receive you in a manner worthy of your birth. In her loyalty you would assuredly find an asylum, and it is perhaps the only part of the empire to which, in the hour of distress, you could with safety fly for shelter and protection. The mind that beholds and deplores the possibility of a catastrophe so afflicting, also beholds the certain means of avoiding it; it is to this point I submissively beseech the attention of Your Royal Highness, as involving in its consideration the fate of these kingdoms, and your own.

Those who can hastily resolve upon hostilities, even when aggression has been offered, without first trying, by amicable negotiation, to avoid an appeal to arms, will find the most splendid triumphs but a poor counterpoise to the wide ruin and desolation they will have occasioned. But the mind that can hatch wars, with a fecundity capable of depopulating the world, if its power equalled its malice, must in its very nature be as dark as Erebus. I know of no combination of words in my own or any other language capable of expressing the abhorrence in which a man with

\* Vide Note K.

a mind so constructed ought to be universally held. To deliberately resolve on war, unprovoked by insult or injustice—unauthorized by considerations of self-defence, without even the chance or expectation of acquiring additional territory or dominion, with the certainty of inflicting calamities, without the hope of deriving any one good in return for so much crime and misery, pronouncing sentence of death against thousands, perhaps millions, and sending fire and sword amongst unoffending and defenceless nations, with pestilence and famine in the rear, to destroy what warfare spares, argues something so very atrocious, that, were it not as rare as it is diabolical, our existence would be every thing but a blessing. It is no secret to Your Royal Highness that Mr. Pitt, more attached to his place than to the interests of his country, accepted, in 1791 \*, the disgraceful alternative on which alone he would be allowed to direct your father's councils. Nor is the regret you felt at a determination so criminal and injudicious, or the anxiety you have invariably felt and expressed from that

\* The character and little views of Mr. Pitt were better known abroad than at home. When the intelligence reached St. Petersburg, in 1793, that the Duke of York was appointed commander-in-chief of the army to be employed on the continent, Catherine exclaimed, "*Je vois bien que Monsieur Pitt aime mieux sa place que sa patrie.*"—I see plainly that Mr. Pitt loves his place better than his country."

fatal period, for the return of peace, unknown to the world. It is a trait of much promise in your character, and will conduct the judgment of foreign nations, as well as the people of these kingdoms, to correctly estimate the capacity of your mind by its benevolence.

It is unnecessary to remind you, Sir, that France, when this rash resolve was made, had neither the means nor disposition to quarrel with her neighbours, and that she could not have given offence or umbrage to the British nation. In strict justice, the commencement of the contest should date from the moment the British Cabinet had decided upon the measure, in 1791, and not in 1793. At the latter period France had no choice left her\*. Irritated by the perfidy and insults of foreign courts; harassed by traitors within, who, under foreign auspices, "*fooled her, in the delirium of her convulsion, to the very top of her bent*;" perplexed and bewildered by the innumerable, underhand projects perpetually forming by the ill-advised King and Queen, who vainly hoped to recover the authority they had lost; menaced with a civil war by the intrigues carrying on at the Tuilleries, at Vienna, at Berlin, Petersburg, and London, through the vile agency of a discarded nobility, leagued with a banditti of priests and impostors, the Convention had no resource from rebellion but in

\* Vide Note L.

boldly throwing away the scabbard, and trusting the fortunes of the revolution to the sword.

It was not until the 8th of February 1793\*, that the first angry shot was fired against the British flag; but those who do not date the commencement of hostilities from the period at which our Cabinet resolved upon war, are not likely to form

\*(COPY.)

"Calais, 8 Feb. 1793.

"A la vue du port, le paquebot qui me portait, a été attaqué par deux corsairs. J'étais malade; les coups de fusil m'ont guerri et m'ont appris que la guerre était déclarée. Adieu donc, mon cher Miles, vos philanthropiques espérances! Une idée me console. Cette guerre ne peut durer—le courage des deux nations assurera une estime reciproque, qui compensera peut-être par les resultats heureux, les maux qui se prepare: alors, mon ami, nous nous reverrons et nous jouirons en paix d'un attachement mutuel. Adieu! écrivez moi.

"*A Monsieur MILES,  
Cleveland Row, St. James's.*"

H. B. MARET.

#### TRANSLATION.

"Calais, 8 Feb. 1793.

"In sight of this port, the packet-boat in which I was embarked, was attacked by two privateers. I was ill—the discharge of muskets at once cured, and apprised me that war was declared. Farewell then, my dear Miles, to all your philanthropic hopes. One consideration consoles me. The war cannot last. The courage of the two nations will ensure to them a reciprocal esteem, which, in its consequences, will perhaps compensate for the calamities in preparation. We shall then, my friend, again see each other, and enjoy, in peace, our mutual attachment. Farewell. Write to me.

"H. B. MARET."



a correct judgment of the result, or to decide fairly which of the two nations was the aggressor.

The period is arrived at which all doubts on a question so important should be removed \*. The nation, better instructed as to the cause and origin of the war, will be better able to decide which of the two powers is bound in honour to make the first advance towards a termination of it. If it should appear as evident to the plain good sense of the country as it does to the intelligent mind of Your Royal Highness, that Great Britain provoked the contest, the same conviction that you feel of the necessity of concluding it, will be equally evident to Parliament, and suggest to their wisdom the best means of impressing similar sentiments on those who have the direction of His Majesty's affairs.

The facts I have felt it my duty to communicate to you, Sir, prove the war, in the first instance, to have been a wanton aggression on the part of this country—the insolence or silence with which every overture for negotiation on the part of France †, at different periods of the contest, was received, marks the bitter animosity which pervaded your Father's Councils; while a power on the Continent remained to be subsidized, even at the hazard of their own existence, from Austria down to Sweden ‡, including the whole race

\* See Note M.

† See Note N.

‡ See Note O.

of German Electors and Landgraves \* ; and when every prospect of wresting from France either by arms or negotiation, any one of the conquests she had made was extinguished, the war has been persisted in with a fury and an obstinacy that would lead us to suppose Ministers are resolved to try their talents at impossibilities, by reducing us to play for our last stake ! Sir, it behoves Your Royal Highness—it behoves the friends of your illustrious House, and of the Constitution, to examine the actual state and future prospects of the country, to compare the respective conditions, power, and resources of the two nations France and England, in 1791, when your Father was unfortunately advised to war with France, at all events, and to make it the sole condition on which Mr. Pitt would be suffered to direct our public Councils. It is incumbent on Parliament to stand between incapacity and the ruin of the empire—it is full time that delusion and complaints should descend to one common tomb, to rise no more ! The one implies excessive weakness, the other extreme servility. We have been the dupe of both, and it is full time we should recover our senses, and put

\* Let Parliament call for an account of the subsidies paid by Mr. Wickham to Bavaria, Wirtemberg, and the Elector of Mayence—the nation will then judge of our wisdom of selection and economy in expenditure.

an end to the reign of impostors.—Our existence as a nation depends at this moment on mere accident, not on the vigilance and gallantry of our navy, for if it did, we should have nothing to fear; happily it does not depend on the wisdom of those who direct His Majesty's Councils, for in that case we should have nothing to hope—No, Sir, we are now entirely dependent on the winds of Heaven and on casualties, upon which we dare not calculate—a gale of wind, a lee shore, an explosion, may give free passage to the enemy to land in Ireland, and seal our ruin past redemption. If it should be asked, how the danger of a catastrophe so deplorable can be avoided in the present state of the contest? I answer, By PEACE—there is no other avenue to salvation—it is broad and direct, and may be easily found, whenever Ministers will give themselves the trouble to look for it;—but they must be content to relinquish a bigoted attachment to usages no longer applicable, nor stand upon vain and frivolous punctilios, the vice of little minds. It is time they should be taught, that, though forms may sometimes rank as preservatives, they are not essences—those who made the first advance to War, are bound in honour to make the first advance to Peace. It will look like atonement, and contrition is due for offences.

The war being resolved upon in 1791, fixes

this country with the guilt of aggression—the attempts made in 1792 and 1793 by Messieurs Chauvelin, Maret, the two Mourgues, father and son, Noel, and Reinhard, to prevent hostilities, in which these gentlemen had recourse to my agency, prove that France was desirous to avoid, even down to February 1793, a rupture with this country—she offered as the price of peace, to rescind the offensive decrees of the 19th November, and 15th of December 1792; and to engage that Spain should open all the markets in South America to our manufacturers: I was authorized to state, that whenever Great Britain was disposed to enter into an alliance with France, the latter was ready to open a negotiation with the former for that purpose. But when these concessions were made, Ministers insisted on the Scheld remaining in a state of interdiction, under the pretext that Holland would be ruined if the port of Antwerp† was opened. On this point, in which Their High Mightinesses took no active part, nor did they wish to plunge this country into war, the two nations split. Mousieur Chauvelin, in a very indecent manner, was ordered by Lord Grenville to quit the country,—

† The Dutch, who were alone interested in keeping the waters of the Scheld stagnate, never pressed us at the time to make it a *sine qua non* to our neutrality;—but we wanted an excuse to quarrel, and found one, as Hotspur did rebellion.

Monsieur Maret, who crossed to Dover as the other was crossing to Calais, was refused an audience on his arrival in London, and also dismissed, without being admitted to an interview, or allowed to enter into an explanation of the points in dispute. In the Memoirs of my own Times, comprehending a space of thirty years, which I am preparing for the press, it is my intention to enter fully into the history of the French Revolution, and to do ample justice to the integrity, the zeal, and pacific dispositions of the various confidential agents from the Executive Council, to whom I have referred in this publication, and who were sent from Paris to London in 1792 and 1793, for the express purpose of preserving a good understanding between the two governments; but as the present occasion offers a fair opportunity of mentioning them as they deserve, and as this work goes forth to the world authenticated by my name, I think it due to Mons. Maret, Mons. Reinhard, and Mons. Noel to declare, that their unremitting efforts to prevent a rupture, are not the less entitled to the esteem of both nations for having been unsuccessful. It was the most earnest wish of these gentlemen, as also of Mons. Mourgue, and his son Scipion, who exerted themselves for the same laudable purpose, to have brought both governments to that favourable and amicable temper towards each other, which might have ultimately

led them to consolidate, by a treaty of alliance, their mutual interests—that they came to England for such purposes, is evident from their correspondence—that they professed such sentiments, and were grieved and disappointed at the failure of their efforts, are truths which I am bound to acknowledge; and under these impressions they left England. Of Mons. Chauvelin's views and sentiments I can speak with less certainty, because my intercourse with him was less direct, and because I was fully aware that as he was upon ill terms with Lord Grenville, little importance would be attached to any propositions he had to offer—He was besides not very much in the confidence of the Executive Council, which was composed of new men suddenly blown into public life by the tempest of the times, and whose names and faces were as little known in Paris before the Revolution, as they would have been in Canton. That Mons. Chauvelin anxiously wished to prevent the war is evident from the note he begged me to deliver to Mr. Pitt, even after the gross indecency offered to him by Lord Grenville. If his Government had been desirous of seeking a quarrel with this country; the insulting manner in which he was treated by our Foreign Secretary, would have furnished them with a justifiable pretext for war; or if he had been so disposed, he had a fair opportunity to have done us ill offices, by exaggerating the insult; but so far from hav-

ing any such views, he offered to see Mr. Pitt after the diplomatic robe had been torn from his shoulders by Lord Grenville; and it was this outrage, which, depriving the Executive Council of all hopes of preserving peace, decided them to declare war†; yet even after its commencement, an ineffectual effort was made to renew a negotiation for peace, which Lord Grenville, with his usual acuteness, declined. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in France (Mons. Le Brun) was soon afterwards denounced by the Convention as the author of the war—ordered into custody, but escaped for the moment. At the expiration of six months he was discovered in one of the suburbs‡, seized, identified, and upon that charge put to death. This is another strong proof of the aversion which the

† M. Chauvelin had rendered himself obnoxious to Ministers; and his Government attributing the ill-humour of our Cabinet to the injudicious conduct of their Envoy, offered to disavow it, by recalling him. The offer was made through me to Mr. Pitt, and the person intended to have replaced Monsieur Chauvelin, was Mr. Barthelmy, as he had been in England; but as he was disliked for espousing the cause of the Revolution, the Executive Council had it, I believe, in contemplation to send General Dumourier;—it was either in December 1792, or January 1793. That gentleman is now in England, and can say whether the project of sending him to London as Plenipotentiary, was or was not then in contemplation.

‡ He had concealed himself in the Rue d'Enfer, Fauxbourg St. Marteau.

nation had to war; but it was the harsh measure of ordering the French Minister (Monsieur Chauvelin) to quit the country—it was the contempt with which he was treated by Lord Grenville, that compelled France no longer to observe any measures with us. The measure of hostilities against this country was abruptly and unexpectedly proposed by the Foreign Minister to the Convention, at that time composed of men, many of whom were uninformed and incapable;—his temper, naturally irritable (for I knew the man), had been provoked by the supercilious and contemptuous conduct of Lord Grenville towards the French Minister, and the confidential agents of the French Government.—It had been long evident to Le Brun and his colleagues that nothing short of the retrograde motion of the revolution would satisfy the Court of St. James's, and this decided the Executive Council to meet the danger it could not by any decent concessions on the part of France avoid. I conjure Your Royal Highness to well weigh in your mind those incontrovertible facts, for the authenticity of which, my character for veracity stands pledged; I was not only a spectator of the events of those times, but an humble actor in some of them—  
anxious to prevent a rupture, which I invariably predicted to Mr. Pitt and his friends, from July 1790, to January 1793, when he interdicted my any longer corresponding with the French



Executive Council on the subject of peace or war. You will also find, Sir, strong presumptive evidence of this aversion to war; manifested by France from the commencement of her troubles, even after our Cabinet had left her no alternative, in the very efforts she afterwards employed to terminate it.

On this subject I can speak as positively as on the former, nor is it less interesting—both deserve your most serious attention; the very resolve to examine them, is an advance towards reconciliation—it will bring back the public mind from the delusion in which it has been kept, by a series of falsehoods and misrepresentations, for which the country has lost as much character †,

† While writing this passage, the papers containing the Address of the City of London to His Majesty, were laid on my table. Addresses to the Throne in general, are the same; the pattern for general use hangs up in the Council Chamber, I suppose; and as they are always complimentary, what were presented in the reign of George the Second, by only varying the numerals, will do equally well for that of George the Third, or any other Sovereign; but for the recollection of this circumstance, I should have complimented the City on its having made an advance to something like pleasantry, by the irony which pervades the whole of their Address. It no longer talks of the war being "*just and necessary*;" these are points long since given up—it was the slang of the day, which has been superseded by the words "*wisdom and vigour*," on the suggestion, perhaps, of Lord Hawkesbury. This ingenious fabrication is enlivened with a scrap of piety, in compliment, no doubt, to another quarter.—We are gravely assured of ultimately defeating *all the world* under the protection of Divine Providence!—

(the best and dearest of all property !) as she has of influence. Aware, as Your Royal Highness is, of the necessity of peace ; well disposed as I know you to be to countenance every honourable means of obtaining it, I feel assured that these sentiments, certainly not the less estimable for being patriotic and benevolent, will acquire additional force in your royal bosom, whenever you recur to the transactions of past times, and reflect on the series of pitiful insults, as well as gross indignities, which have been offered to France, in the persons of those, who at different periods have had the direction of her affairs, from 1789 to 1799, when Bonaparte, charging himself with the destinies of that nation, monopolized the whole of Lord Grenville's spite, and the spleen of Mr. Pitt.—It is necessary, Sir, to take a summary review of dates ; they wonderfully assist the memory, by not only bringing back events and circumstances to our recollection, but in disposing the mind to well weigh and reflect upon them.

The following chronological statement of undeniable facts, will furnish Your Royal Highness as if Heaven, partial to Thames Street, had withdrawn its protection from the rest of mankind. I do not know by what happy command of muscles the King preserved his gravity while the Recorder read this extraordinary production, which to all sober-minded men must appear a satire upon His Majesty's Government ; but, if what was read has been faithfully printed, I own that I should have found it very difficult to have kept my countenance, even in the Royal Presence.

with additional reason to regret the perversity which has marked the councils of His Majesty's advisers, and the general delusion by which alone that perversity could have been sustained. Your anxiety to see your afflicted country rescued from a contest into which she has been wantonly, not to say wickedly plunged; the progress in which has been regularly from bad to worse, without a ray of hope to illumine her course, will become the greater, on your being informed of the inflexible † obstinacy with which your Father's Counsellors have invariably resisted, not only every favourable occasion, but every overture of the enemy to end the quarrel.

The war, Sir, determined upon in 1791, announced itself on the 8th of February 1793, after various efforts on the part of France to avert so direful a calamity. Towards the end of the following month (March) an offer was made through me to Government by the friends of limited monarchy, then known by the name of

† Inflexibility is what the Corporation gentlemen in the City of London I suppose call *firmness*, in their Address—I cannot find any word in their vocabulary that corresponds with *vigour*; and as to *wisdom*, it is absolutely left to shift for itself, I meet with nothing analogous to it; obstinacy disclaims all affinity with it, as belonging more to sloth and stupidity than to exertion, and is generally the appendage of folly: if the approvers and manufacturers of this Address were ever instructed in the ten commandments, they do not appear to be much the better for the instruction.

Moderates, to march an army from the Alps of France to Paris, and proclaim the son of Louis the XVIth, then alive, King of France, provided Great Britain would declare herself contented with the constitution which Louis the XVIth had sworn to respect, and as a pledge of her sincerity, procure the release of Mons. De la Fayette and his friends, most shamefully as well as impolitically detained, first by Prussia, and afterwards by Austria. It was proposed to establish a form of government similar to our own, in which the people should have a security against the encroachments of the Crown in the responsibility of its Ministers. The party in favour of a limited monarchy was at that time considerable in France; many of them in office: their influence and resources were great—they had founderies in the mountains where they cast cannon—all they wanted was the countenance of Great Britain to re-establish the monarchy—they required no subsidies, no clothing, no ammunition, nor even money to defray the expenses of their journey back—they sought refuge in our justice, from the fury of the Jacobins and the relentless rage of the red-hot Royalists. It would have been wisdom to have listened to their offer, and especially as they candidly stated, that with all their aversion to republicanism, they would prefer it to an absolute monarchy, and trusted they would not be driven to adopt an alternative

so repugnant to their habits and principles. I gave their memorial to the Under-Secretary of State †. The Cabinet was then sitting; I saw it carried in; but as no notice whatever was taken of it, it is fair to presume that His Majesty's Ministers moved ~~the~~ *the previous question, and passed to the order of the day.* About the 4th of February 1794, I received a letter from Paris, pressing me to use my credit, if I had any, with Mr. Pitt, in favour of peace, adding, that it was the determination of the Convention to expel us, at all events, the Low Countries, the ensuing campaign, and that they would have 200,000 men in Flanders if necessary. I transmitted the letter immediately to Mr. Pitt, and he almost as immediately sent a gentleman to me high in his confidence, to request I would not send him any more French intelligence. The message certainly surprised me—it did more—because I thought it was his duty, as Minister, to receive intelligence; it was for him to judge how far it was entitled to credit, or proper to be acted upon; and this I told his friend in nearly the same words. The correctness of my information from Paris in January 1794, was completely verified at the conclusion of the year, by the total expulsion of the British and other foreign troops from the Austrian Netherlands, and by the subsequent reduction of Holland. This speci-

† Mr. Aust, Foreign Department.

men of the “*wisdom and vigour* †” in our public Councils, which the Corporation of London so much extolled in their late Address to the King, offers to Your Royal Highness much matter for useful though painful reflection, and proves that the capacity for conducting the war bore no kind of proportion to the zeal for entering into it. A very favourable opportunity for terminating it occurred when the Dutch, disgusted with a contest into which they had been forced, withdrew from the confederacy, and negotiated a separate peace for themselves—at that period the French would have consented to a general peace. This disposition was communicated to the Foreign Secretary without delay—it was received—contemned—and spurned †. Early in January 1795, I received a letter from M. Barthelmy, the French Minister at Basle, informing me the Convention was ready to treat with Great Britain for peace, on terms consistent with the honour, the dignity, and interests of the French nation. The importance of the information induced me to disregard the prohibition I had received from Mr. Pitt, the preceding year, to send him any more French intelligence ||, and I lost no time in com-

† Vide Note O.

† Vide Note P.

|| “SIR,                      Nottingham Street, January 22, 1795.

“I sent you early in February 1794, a letter that had been transmitted to me from Paris, which stated, that the en-

municating it—I sent a copy of it to the late Duke of Leeds, aware of his being in favour of peace, and in the hope, that, though he no longer formed a part of the Administration, he might see Mr. Pitt, and urge the propriety of sending me to Basle, whither I offered to go, on having only my expenses paid, to ascertain the terms on which France would treat.

Mr. Grey, in one House of Parliament, and the late Duke of Bedford in the other, moved, on the twenty-sixth of January 1795, That we should acknowledge the French Repub-

suing campaign in the Netherlands would not be a party of pleasure to our troops; that the French army in the Low Countries would, if necessary, amount to two hundred thousand men. Mr. — called on me the day after, and, in your name, requested that I would not send you any more French intelligence or letters from France. Extraordinary as the prohibition appeared, I felt that I had no right to resist it; if I now prestime to violate the silence you imposed, it is from a sense of that duty which is paramount to all other considerations; and from the full conviction I have that you will participate most cordially in the pleasure I feel in acquainting you, that an assurance has reached me from a person (Mons. Barthelmy) authorized to make the communication\* that “*the Convention will readily receive any propositions for peace, that you may think proper to offer, provided they are compatible with the interests, the security, and dignity of the French nation.*”—I leave to your discretion, Sir, the use to be made of the foregoing information, and have the honour to remain, &c.

“*Right Honourable William Pitt,*  
*Esq. &c. &c.*”

W. A. MILES.

\* The letter was dated the 27th Frimaire 1794, our 17th December 1794.

fic. Mr. Pitt then condescended to declare, that “ *the form of government in France should be no bar to treating with her.*” This I have reason to believe was the only effect the letter of Mr. Barthelmy produced upon the Minister; at all events, I never heard ~~that~~ any other notice was taken of it. Here was another very favourable occasion for terminating the war, and at an epoch when Europe, comparatively speaking, had suffered no material injury—Spain was entire—Italy the same—Austria ¶ and Prussia in full vigour—the Germanic Empire untouched. Could reason have subdued obstinacy, these states would not have to lament their impotency or their ruined fortunes, and their total inability to recover their former consequence; but, Sir, the extent of the evil is yet a secret to us—it may not be very easy to ascertain what we might have gained by accepting the invitation to peace, offered to us twice in 1794; but we are certainly in a condition most accurately to estimate what we have lost, and to form no very improbable conjecture what we may yet suffer, if the nation, “ *confiding in the wisdom, the firmness, and vigour of His Majesty’s Councils,*” should allow the war to be continued with such indelible marks of incapacity for conducting it; and with yet the stronger and far more melancholy evidence staring us in the face, that every year, nay, Sir, every month, week,

¶ With the exception of the Low Countries.



day, hour, and almost every minute, swells the proud triumphs of our adversary, and renders him as invulnerable to our attacks, as he is superior to our malice. I should have supposed that Ministers, taught wisdom by experience, would have condescended to relax in the rigour of their demands, and giving up the "*indemnity for the past*," have gladly compounded with having "*security for the future*." I frequently forewarned Mr. Pitt, from 1790 to 1793, what the issue of the rupture would be—I told him that France would rise a phoenix from her ashes—that if he warred with her, he would ruin his country: a part of my prediction has been realized—it is for Your Royal Highness to decide upon the probability of what has not yet been verified. An able statesman at the head of your Father's Councils, at that period, would have turned the great event of the revolution into an universal good for mankind; we now behold and feel it a curse, not a blessing, fixing the destiny of Europe for ages, and insulating us from the rest of the world. We are become, I know not why, except from an excess of confidence in Ministers not very rational, fond of war, and we are likely to have it until we can war no longer. This mischievous, this ruinous bias in our public Councils, is become, as it were, a kind of national disease, and to blind us to all the sad consequences which must result from it. What was mere sport and pastime in the early part of the present reign, a kind of raree-show

for holiday fools, confined to Hyde Park, and not even venturing as far as Wimbledon; innocent in appearance, but pernicious in its effects; is become our occupation—reviews have given place to campaigns, and platoon firing is no longer a waste of powder, but of men. This passion for playing † at soldiers, and now our calling, may have made us heroes, but it has not made us conquerors, because there has been no mind to direct that, which, without guidance, is worse than useless—the conquests are not on this side of the Channel: we must neither look to Flanders, to the Helder, nor to Buenos Ayres, if we wish to behold a conqueror; but to the man who can march without interruption from Hamburgh to Constantinople. While we were intoxicated and lost in a delirium of joy at the brilliant but final achievement of the

† An Envoy at a foreign Court, a very few years back, exhibited himself at one of the annual royal reviews in the uniform of one of our volunteer infantry corps, of which he had enrolled himself an honorary member as a private. A gentleman in a civil employment, and a foreigner, prancing about in regimentals on a charger, amidst troops supposed to have been the first in Europe, excited much merriment, and occasioned many questions not very flattering to the hero on horseback. These epigrams were not felt the first day, but on his appearing in masquerade the second day at the review, the epigrams became more pointed. The gentleman felt he was the object of ridicule; and the third day he took good care to appear in coloured clothes. Perhaps he might have thought it the etiquette of a military government, to have exhibited himself in scarlet, as he would have done in sable if the Court had been in mourning.

heroic Nelson, we paid no attention to the giant strides of Bonaparte:—we do not behold the rapidity with which he marches from conquest to conquest, nor the splendour of his achievements—while we take ships which art and industry can replace, he takes cities, and subdues empires;—Kings grace his triumphs—they owe their diadems to his generosity, their freedom to his humanity, and their lives to his contempt. To me it appears as if we were in the second Punic war, with the sad destiny of Carthage in perspective. Let us, I conjure you, Sir, beware of the third. What is become of the impudent boast in 1793, that we would have “*indemnity for the past, and security for the future?*”—Sir, such buffoonery may be pleasant in a theatre, but it loses its mirthful character in a Senate, and becomes a mischief, a disgrace, no less to the audience that can bear such ribaldry without indignation, than to the mountebank who insults the good sense of mankind by so impudent an imposture. Mr. Pitt, generous to profusion with a property not his own, purchased a respite for a few months, not from an invasion, but from the menace of an invasion, and Europe has been the victim of his prodigality. The spirit as well as force of Austria is in a manner annihilated—its Monarch, a mendicant for his crown to the man become by the guilt and imbecility of his opponents the Sovereign of Europe. Bonaparte has no longer an enemy in

his rear to pull him back, whenever he is resolved to try his fortunes on Irish or on British ground; Mr. Pitt has given him facilities for the enterprise, beyond his fondest calculation.

If any thing contained in this address should induce Your Royal Highness to think more seriously on the perilous state of the country, my object must ultimately be accomplished—for, with a mind like yours awakened, and with your means; to think, is to act. It is full time that the reign of impostors should cease, that the worst description of quacks should be incapacitated for doing us any farther mischief, and driven into the obscurity from which the mistaken bounty of your Father only could have drawn them. I told Mr. Pitt early in 1793, that he was an infant in foreign politics. This truth was repeated to one of his first cousins at the time. Turn, Sir, to the map of Europe for 1790; compare it with a correct topography of the present year, and say if I calumniated the gentleman or undervalued his talents? Allow me most respectfully to trace it for the inspection of Your Royal Highness, and trusting to the correctness of your memory for what it was at the former period, tell me, Sir, if the same pernicious system should be pursued, which has conducted your fortunes and those of the country to the present lamentable point at which we behold them, what resting-place has hope for better prospects—what security have we

against despair? If the war, which after having made the tour of the Continent; should direct her terrific course to these realms, on whom shall we call for succour? On Russia? She has associated her fortunes with the man who courted our alliance in 1799, and whom Lord Grenville \*, with his accustomed insolence, spurned, as unworthy even of a civil answer.—Can Austria assist us? She is all but annihilated.—Can Prussia come to our rescue in the fierce conflict? Where is she? Where find her, blotted as she is out of the map of Europe?—Will Spain afford us succour? She is no longer an independent state—the man whom Lord Grenville spurned, is master of her fortunes! Enumerate, Sir, the dominions he has annexed to the ancient possessions of the Bourbons, and consult your own bosom whether it would not have been advisable to have protected France in the hour of her calamity, when, torn by intestine commotions, she became alarmed for her safety; when, trusting to that magnanimity which in better times animated the public Councils of this country, she found that heroism had given place to trick, and rectitude to perfidy. The changes have been incessantly rung on the balance of power, on public faith and on fidelity to our allies—but which of them, honestly speaking, deserved our support—which of the Sovereigns on

\* Vide Lord Grenville's impertinent answer to Bonaparte's first tender of the ~~the~~ branch in 1799, and which was instantly resented by France declaring him Consul for life.

the Continent that did not rather merit to be dismissed to the ranks, as privates in an army, where accident alone could have made them commanders-in-chief?

I am afraid, rapid as this sketch has been of our situation and prospects, that I have already trespassed on the patience of Your Royal Highness ; but the subject is important, and you are fully aware of the necessity of peace, from the evident impossibility of carrying on the war to any useful purpose. If we persevere in it, our most strenuous efforts to injure France, will but condense her power, and inflame a nation who thinks she has sufficient cause of anger, to almost justify implacable hatred. Ruthless and eternal war, if that should be the intention of His Majesty's Ministers, will augment the indisposition of foreign powers against us ; considering us as the sole obstacle to the return of peace, so necessary to us all, they will join their forces to those of the enemy, and extort what they would much rather should flow from us spontaneously.

Sir, there is in public, as in private life, a broad and direct road for honourable men to travel. If character is yet of any value in this country ; or if it should unfortunately have lost its sterling worth, and personal safety and personal interests should alone be objects of consideration with us, it is necessary for their preservation to terminate

a war disreputable in its commencement, and ruinous in its consequences. A frank and open manner best suits the acknowledged magnanimity of both nations; on this occasion it would argue manhood, and inspire that confidence in others, which it exhibits in its own conduct. We have seen the vast importance which Ministers have attached to punctilios, and that this political bigotry has already barred all passage to negotiation. Ministers do not seem to be aware that their scrupulous attention to forms, exclusive of its exciting suspicions of their sincerity, may prolong the war *ad infinitum*, (unless, indeed, it should be transferred to our own shores;) nor do they seem sensible that it is derogatory to the honour of the country, as I am sure it is ruinous to her interests, to solicit or accept of the intervention of any third power.

To solicit or accept the good offices of another to obtain what would be sooner accorded to a direct and public demand, argues pusillanimity not firmness, folly not wisdom, especially as there is not a court in Europe, on whose fidelity, friendship, or support, we could rely. The shorter and certainly the more manly way would be to make the overture direct to the French government. I know enough of the character of the nation and of those who have a considerable share in the conduct of affairs in France, to be well convinced that a pacific overture, sincerely made in the way I

have proposed, would be well received. It would be welcomed as an unequivocal proof of our return to reason, after having been held, by error, an age in bondage. At all events, the experiment is worth trying, and we have that to hold out to the great mind of Bonaparte for the future occupation of both nations, which, while it conduced largely to their respective interests, would contribute in a high degree to the general interests of mankind. Compelled to seek the means of fortifying himself against the machination of his enemies, he retains the sword, which has the extraordinary quality of making new conquests, at the same time that it defends its old ones. The civilization of Africa, Sir, and the whole of South America, in conjunction with Great Britain, offers to his enterprising mind achievements far more honourable than any he could derive from even the most splendid triumphs. A peace with France, followed by an alliance, would ensure the repose of the world for ever; but a peace, Sir, that has not an alliance for its object, will be fallacious, and lead to worse consequences than war. The moment is favourable. Leave to France the task of arranging the continent of Europe, of which she is become the absolute mistress; her claim—the right of conquest. It is precisely the same as that we have to Oude, or to any of the other Asiatic provinces we have seized or made tributary. To wrest dominion from France by



force, is beyond our strength; to dispossess her by intrigue, beyond our cunning. The *status quo ante bellum* ceased to be a basis for future negotiation when the different powers of Europe ceased to respect its principle. Those who are the first to violate forms and principles, have little right to complain if the examples they give of injustice should be improved upon. The fate of Europe deserves our notice no farther than as it may affect our own safety, and her sufferings would have no claim to our commiseration, had we not been instrumental in misleading her. Those whom we could not debauch, we ravished. Genoa, without means of resistance, submitted to our embrace. Venice, more dignified, and fenced by her lagunes, laughed at the thing of a Minister who have bullied her into compliance. Denmark, whom we insulted during the whole course of this tremendous conflict, and whose consistent, manly neutrality, we should have done well to imitate, spurned our caresses, and had her virtue punished by an attempt to assassinate her. Sweden, whose entrance into the contest resembles the hostility of the Bishop of Liege† to Louis the Fourteenth, has something in it too ludicrous

† This little inland principality, situated at a considerable distance from the ocean, in the lower circle of Westphalia, and whose peace establishment amounted to seven hundred infantry, had once the folly to engage in a confederacy against France, and published a manifesto in which war was proclaimed in form against Louis the Fourteenth, "by sea and land!"

even for laughter to be merry at : with no other allies than Sweden and the Morning Post, what insanity to expect we can rescue Europe from the firm grasp of Bonaparte ? If nothing worse resulted from this insanity than the ridicule it provokes, it might be suffered to run its contemptible career ; but it points to ruin, and must be opposed.

In the present state of our affairs, peace, and the best means of obtaining it, should occupy our attention, and be resorted to without delay. France has no aversion to bury in eternal oblivion the mutual errors of both nations ; and if circumstances have required France, for her own security, to exclude us from all interference in the affairs of continental Europe, a counterpoise to the preponderance we have lost may be found in other quarters of the globe, more beneficial to us, and less dangerous to our formidable neighbour. If any fond attachment yet lurks in our bosom for mixing our politics with those of Germany and Russia, it must evidently be for the purpose of annoying France when occasion offers ; of exciting insurrections in her dominions, and forming coalitions against her. This system must be renounced as vicious in itself, and without possessing even what avarice or malice would deem an equivalent for dishonour. Sir, I assert, and the assertion is made on no vulgar authority, that France would a short time since have made

peace with us, and on terms as equitable as we have a right to expect, with the history of our disasters; and of our conduct, and prospects in full view before us. A tender of the olive-branch has nothing in it disgraceful, whether England or France be the first to offer it.

The latter certainly expected in 1793 and in 1794, the overture to come from us, and nothing has since occurred to authorize any change of opinion \*. It is possible to defer an act of pru-

\* "Il me semble que c'est aux assaillans à faire les propositions de paix. Mais comptez que jamais nous ne recevrons la loi de l'étranger, et que les Français périront jusqu'au dernier avant d'en venir à cette humiliation. C'est ma profession de foi, et c'est celle de tous mes compatriotes qui vous ont bien cédé les singes comme vous dites."

"It appears to me that those who attack should be the first to propose peace. But of this be assured, that we will never submit to receive the law from any foreign power, and that every Frenchman will perish even to the very last man, rather than submit to such degradation. This is not only my confession of faith, but that of those of my countrymen, who have, as you well remark, ceded to you the monkeys."

Paris, Aug. 23, 1793.

This letter was an answer to one I had written to as honest and as intelligent a gentleman as any existing, who had laboured most ardently and sincerely with myself to prevent the war, and dispose the two nations to an alliance. The conclusion of it alludes to a reproof I gave to one of those coxcomb emigrants, high in favour with Ministers, and who was insulting the manners and prejudices of the country that maintained and protected him. On his giving himself some impertinent airs against this country, which argued more flippancy than gratitude, I asked

dence until it becomes impossible to execute it. The public mind of France may be irritated by a spiteful unavailing prolongation of hostilities until every wish for reconciliation is extinguished. Europe, exposed by our obstinacy to endure calamities which we had it in our power to terminate, will have an interest in our destruction, and rejoice to see our folly punished in our extinction. Sir, this is no improbable result; no man in the empire is better enabled to estimate its justice than yourself; none more qualified or more interested in making it evident to those whose duty it is not to press the contest until they compel the enemy \* to inscribe *Bellum ad internecionem* on his banners, and, with better means of accomplishing the threat than we possessed at any period of the war, hazard the attempt on British ground.

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I anticipate the clamour that will be excited against me for the strong language in which I have offered the foregoing facts to Your Royal consideration, and I am not ignorant of the autho-

him if Voltaire was correct in dividing his countrymen into two classes, monkies and tigers? He answered, "Nothing more true."—"Then, Sir," I replied, "it appears to me that the tigers have kept possession of the country, and made us a present of the monkies."

\* See Note Q.

rity by which that clamour will be supported. But men who feel strongly, will express themselves so, and the rectitude of their intentions must fortify them against consequences. The man who cannot make up his mind to bear with calumny, and even with injustice in its worst form, is ill calculated to take a part in public affairs, and still less to rush into the tempest with a view to prevent shipwreck. It is probable that those who would be thought the best supporters of Government will insinuate I am disaffected, but these gentlemen have yet to learn, that “*to warn is not to menace.*” I will not dispute their loyalty, but they must not claim it as their exclusive property. I will give every man credit for wishing well to his country, although he does not think as I do of its ministers and of their opponents. To those who know no other road to royal favour than by servility or apostasy, I have nothing to say; but to the world at large, to that independent world with a mind capable of judging, I appeal; I claim of them the common justice due to all mankind, and that they will allow me to repeat what was said on a far different occasion;

“*Strike; but hear!*”

To Your Royal Highness the best apology I can offer for the freedom of this intrusion, is the sincere interest I take in the preservation of the

constitution, and the prosperity of the empire from whose fortunes it is impossible to separate your own; my best reward——your pardon, and the approbation of my country.

I have the honour to subscribe myself,

With the profoundest respect and humility,

Sir,

Your Royal Highness's most obliged,

Most devoted, and faithful, .

Humble Servant,

*Foley Place,*

W. A. MILES.

*April 12th, 1808.*



## A P P E N D I X.

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### *Appendix A. in the Preface.*

THE letter I addressed to the Prince in 1795, had an origin as simple as the motive that dictated it was pure. Its object was to impress the whole of the royal family with the necessity of observing the strictest œconomy consistently with the splendor of their rank, in a war avowedly undertaken in their defence, the magnitude of which bore no resemblance to any former contest. The throne, I thought, would best prove its claim to the efforts made to preserve it, by a modesty in its private, and a wisdom in its public expenditure, suited to the distresses of a people loyal from principle, and who already felt the effects of the conflict by the pressure of the taxes it had produced. Humanity recommended this œconomy—policy commanded it;—such were the impressions, under which I wrote a letter which occasioned much conversation at the time, and of course much misrepresentation. How, far the result has corresponded with my efforts, may be collected from the experience of thirteen years. It was not, however, the rash resolve of the moment. The measure may have been imprudent—its execution intemperate, for zeal is apt to transgress forms and usages, but the occasion seemed to imperiously call for it, and not aware of any middle course, between a silence, which appeared criminal, and a step I knew to be hazardous—I preferred the latter, regardless of what could happen to my person or my fortune. Those who really feel an interest in the prosperity of their country, will pause before they condemn me. Those who linked to a party, and are cold on all subjects but their own, will feel little disposed to follow the example of a man who would rather benefit the state than himself—while the gentlemen who riot in the public spoils, and who have scarcely any other means of subsistence, seem justified by their necessities in representing me, with as little good manners as truth, an incendiary impatient to destroy what he pretends to support! I cannot war with calumny; my conduct—my character and my principles are known to



the world, and it does not become me to enter into a defence of either.—It was in September 1794, that on stepping into a chaise to proceed to Hampton, on a visit to Sir John Morshead, I received a letter from a friend, a member of the House of Commons, and firmly attached to Mr. Fox and his party, informing me, for the first time, that another application would be made to Parliament for the payment of the Prince's debts; declaring his resolution to oppose it, and desiring to know my sentiments on the occasion. As it was a subject on which two opinions could not be entertained, I had no great difficulty in transmitting mine. Anxious to save the Prince from the odium to which such a measure would expose him, I communicated the circumstance in the evening of my arrival to Sir John Morshead, and implored him, as he had the honour to be intimate with his Royal Highness, to see him without delay, and apprise him of the impolicy and danger of calling upon the country, circumstanced as it was, for nearly 600,000*l.* after having pledged himself in 1787 not to come forward with any such demand in future. In answer to this I was assured, that my apprehensions were ill founded—that the King had agreed to pay 200,000*l.* of the debt—an interest of five per cent. on the remainder, and in the event of the Prince's dying before his Majesty, to discharge the whole. This information gave me great pleasure, and I lost no time in transmitting it to my correspondent in the country, and especially as a person holding a high confidential situation under government assured me, that Mr. Pitt would not hazard the bringing forward a measure so offensive and injudicious. My friend, better informed, persisted in the correctness of his communication, and early in May, 1795, the letter in question appeared, the profits of which I gave to the bookseller, on condition of his keeping my name a secret, until I authorized its publication, unless he should be legally called upon in the interim, in which case he had my permission to reveal it, from the conviction I feel that a man should never write what he is afraid or ashamed to avow: the subject gave celebrity to a production which had nothing to boast but the fidelity of its statements, and the strong evidence it bore of a mind ardent in its love of justice, and not likely to be warped from truth by considerations of self-interest. The author, however, was instantly reported by the friends of Mr. Fox to have been hired by the minister to “*run the Prince down,*” and to “*abuse opposition.*” The venality of the age, and the shameless profligacy of men, ever ready to lend themselves to the party who best rewards their labours, seemed to justify the slander, and to call

upon the author to refute it by avowing himself. I imagined that the known rectitude and independence of my character, would have been sufficient to silence a calumny intended to discredit the pamphlet, and feeling it due to the minister, although all intercourse had ceased between us, to rescue him from an aspersion so unjust, I called on Sir John Morshead, and desired he would assure the Prince that I had not consulted the minister on the subject, nor any man connected with his administration; that the bookseller who published it, and a member of the House of Commons, in direct opposition to government, were alone in my confidence, and that whatever guilt there was in the publication, it was exclusively my own, Mr. Pitt, I was told, had been at Carleton-house the morning before, to disavow all knowledge of the letter, and of its author; this was an additional evidence of my independence; yet the calumny and the pamphlet had a joint circulation; the malice of party gave a currency to the one; the circulation of the other was occasioned by the importance of the subject, and by the warm encomiums passed on it by those who were officially attached to the court, and whose loyalty of course was beyond suspicion. The bookseller, whose name was prefixed to the letter, was even entreated to print a cheap edition of it by a gentleman known to be patronised by Lord Liverpool, and to be very much in the confidence of this Personage, and of his son. As I had never mixed myself with any of the contending parties, or dishonoured myself by espousing their little interests to advance my own, it was not surprising that my motives should have been misrepresented by both parties. Men who are governed by party views, and not by the nobler stimulus of public virtue, have a common interest in so doing; and to men with minds so constructed, to whom power and patronage are every thing, and their country nothing, it may possibly have appeared an object to discredit even an individual as unimportant as myself in the public opinion.

By the opponents of the minister, I was branded as a man in his pay, for the purpose of supporting his administration: by the minister and his friends I was reported to be not only hostile to his measures, but according to the practice of very recent times, disaffected to the constitution\*, with which it has been the

\* From a government composed of king, lords, and commons, nothing but death can divorce me, because I feel convinced (and it is a matter of surprise to me, that all men capable of reflection do not feel the same conviction) that no other form of government, as recorded in history, is so well adapted to secure the people from foreign aggression and domestic tyranny; but the attributes of both Houses of Parliament must

- fashion of late for ministers to identify themselves, with a view, if possible, to make it high treason in the public opinion, to arraign the wisdom or measures of men who are in office one day and out of it the next. Their object in endeavouring to establish such a principle among us is obvious. It is for the people to appreciate its value, and to treat it accordingly. It is however worthy of remark, that while I was said by the adherents of Mr. Fox to be a writer employed by ministers, Mr. Burke went to Mr. Pitt, and with all his characteristic violence, insisted that the pension I held from the justice of my sovereign should be withdrawn. On this advice (in which decency had as little share as honesty) being intimated some days afterwards to me in the board-room of the Treasury †, I answered, that the pension I held was the scanty reward (comparatively speaking) of many years honourable employment, and a compensation for the loss of private fortune expended in the public service; that with a right so unquestionable to the remuneration I received, and that right sanctioned by the sign manual of the king, I had only to observe, that the acknowledged equity of the royal mind was my safe-guard against an injustice so atrocious; but that if my pension even depended upon the pleasure of Mr. Pitt, and he could be induced to withdraw it on the suggestions of a man so little entitled to his confidence, he might rest assured I would never apply to him for the restoration of what I felt to be as much my right as the coat upon my back. The gentleman with whom this conversation passed holds at present an high and responsible situation in the government, for which he is well qualified, and can contradict the statement if it is incorrect. It is but fair to mention, that every such intention on the part of the Minister was instantly disavowed. This fact, with its date and all the circumstances connected with it, offer sufficient proof of my not having been employed by Mr. Pitt to defame the Prince; and I should hope it is no less evident, if that gentleman had been capable of conceiving a project so unworthy of his rank, understanding, and high station, I am not the person to whom he would have applied for its execution. But so far from his harbouring such an idea, so far from his having been privy to my writing the letter, neither Mr. Pitt, nor any person connected with his administration, knew that I was the author, until,

not be fictitious, like that of law, which for the personal security of the king, and that his ministers should be responsible, suppose that he can do no wrong.—Parliament, to answer the purposes of its institution, must have wisdom, attainments, and integrity, without which it is every thing but a blessing, and offers us every thing but security from foreign and domestic tyranny.

† Vide Appendix (a.)

the eighth edition appeared, when my name was revealed. To the Prince I avowed myself the instant an innocent man became implicated in the guilt, which, if any, was exclusively my own, and the conduct of his Royal Highness, in consequence of that avowal, is a far stronger panegyric, and better develops his real character, than any thing it would become me to say. Whenever a mind capable of so much generosity comes forward, under circumstances enabling it to display its full powers, the country, it is to be hoped, will have in the conduct of their future sovereign sufficient reason to lament it ever had occasion to entertain sentiments ill-suited to the dignity, and unworthy of the real character, of the heir apparent.

### *Appendix B.*

THE French revolution—at first our admiration, afterwards our mockery or abhorrence, at no time an example for imitation, and finally our scourge—is now beheld under impressions very different to what were felt in its commencement. It is not pleasure, but pain, that it excites; not derision, but fear: our court, instead of commiserating the distresses of a gallant people, and reproaching the abuses which justified their revolt, conceived the desperate project of extinguishing the patriotism that produced it. Alarmed at the issue of a contest which seems to have met in defeat and disgrace, the just punishment it deserved, it is no longer the crimes of the revolution that are held in abhorrence, but its vengeance. The hopes entertained of a dishonorable partition, and of an extinction of that spirit so offensive at all times to despotism, have given way to the yet baser sentiment of despondency; and forgetting that France owes her vast empire to the guilt and imbecility that assailed her, the advisers of the war, mepaced with an invasion by the very gucux (rabble \*) they

\* This language, so unbecoming our diplomacy, was first resorted to, in the years 1792 and 1793, in a dispatch from our minister at the Hague, probably in compliment to the prevailing sentiments of his court at the time, the value of whose favour he can calculate with arithmetical exactitude. That the government of France had fallen into the hands of men, whose pedigree could not be so easily traced as his lordship's, cannot be denied. Heraldry was held in as little estimation by them as ancient forms and usages; but whatever their birth and pretensions to high station may have been, it is certain that the ability with which they acquitted

would have annihilated, tremble before the Colossus they have raised. If ever the menace should be realized; if ever we should be called upon to defend our fire-sides, it will then be seen, whether the authors of so much public calamity and private ruin will face, with a courage proportioned to the danger, the tempest they have excited. The apprehensions announced in 1791, that the conflagration would reach our shores, with all the other fabrications of that description, so industriously propagated in those days, were mere contrivances to give a colourable pretext for premeditated, unprovoked, aggression, and in order to aim, with greater force and precision, a blow at the very name of Liberty, the fraudulent pretext of a reverence for the constitution was urged, which

themselves, would have done no discredit to the rank and pretensions of those in this country to whom his Majesty had confided his affairs. The former did not conduct the interests of their nation like statesmen à la journée—they adopted a plan—methodized it—reduced it to system, and the system was persevered in by those who dismissed them to the scaffold. A new system was not produced with every administration; this strong testimony of consummate wisdom in the different men who have ruled France since the 10th of August, 1792, is yet more strongly confirmed by the present state of that country. Comparing the respective conditions of the two nations, it is seriously to be lamented that as much wisdom has not marked our public councils, as appears to have distinguished those of France. When we compare the talents which have protected France, with those which have assailed her, we should no longer be surprised at her triumphs. When we reflect on the origin of the war, and on the manner in which it has been conducted, we may trace in its result something like a just punishment for an interference not called for by the occasion, and from a motive which the man who conceived it dares not with all his authority and credit avow. The vast dominion acquired by France, in a war meant to extinguish her, may alarm us, for indeed it is terrific; but it should not astonish us.

Become an object of warfare in our turn, with a prospect of having the sanguinary combats, which have so long desolated the continent, transferred to our own shores, it well behoves us to look to our resources for resisting a peril so great; but in comparing the wisdom of those who assail us with the talents of those who defend us, we shrink appalled at the danger, and feel in its magnitude a justification of the fears it excites.

With the fullest conviction on our minds, that nothing short of a complete and absolute change of system can rescue us from destruction, we continue the ruinous routine, as if courage was wanting for the effort, or insatiation had subdued our understanding and the will.—Instead of rendering the authors of our calamities responsible for the consequences of their guilt and imprudence, we sanction both by supporting them. Alarmed, and not without reason, at the giant mind of Robespierre, we seek consolation in personalities as disgraceful as they are unavailing.—We hire mercenary scribblers, the refuse of France and of England, to revile him for his birth and offences, as if scurrilities could unnerve his arm, or ensure our salvation. The coarse epithets of Corsican—Upstart—Usurper—Impostor—and Assassin, are applied with a profusion which indicate more strongly our dread of the individual, than our contempt for his origin, his character, or the crimes we impute to him. We calumniate him, not because we abhor vice, but because we fear the man. It is not our virtue, but our apprehension, that speaks; and while we fancy we are degrading him in the public opinion by the Billingsgate we purchase of French and English scribblers, at the expence of our own honor and character, we neglect the best means of defence, and impose only on ourselves,

the faithless ministers of the Crown have never failed to stab, whenever they could do it with impunity. This malignant hostility to our civil rights has marked with more or less virulence every administration, since the late Earl of Bute infused into the councils of our abused and gracious Sovereign that leaven, which has embittered his reign, and changed in some sort the character of our government and nation. An Algerine war has been carried on with relentless fury against the liberty of the press ever since those ready champions of despotism, the king's attorney and solicitor generals, were employed, in 1763, to hunt down the authors, publishers, and printers of the *North Briton*. It is from that epoch that we are to date the rancor which has occasionally been manifested against the freedom of the press, whenever it became an alarm-bell to announce improvident or illegal measures in preparation, or to expose a violation of those rights which all have a common interest in defending. It is to that feeling that we must attribute the aversion to the changes in France, so fatally expressed even in 1790: With such a spirit infused into our public councils, and constantly, though cautiously, acted upon, it was natural that the unbridled, and certainly unjustifiable licence of the press in France, recently broken loose from all the shackles of law and decorum, must have created a considerable degree of alarm in the minds of men not overburthened with intellects, and whose sensibility was ill calculated to inspire them with an interest in the future fortunes of a people, delirious with joy at the prospect of having a government similar to our own. Whatever may have been the degree of umbrage taken at the innumerable daily publications, in 1790, at Paris, and however repugnant political pamphlets and newspapers are known to be to the taste of his Majesty's ministers, when such publications are not employed to bolster them up, it may reasonably be doubted whether even their great aversion to a free press in France, was a very justifiable excuse for going to war with her; and yet the war, ab origine, will be found to have had no other foundation, especially when it is recollected that the alternative emphatically offered to the discretion of Mr. Pitt, and which was acceded to in a manner as to assure to him place and favour, was made early in 1791, if not towards the close of the summer in 1790. From that moment the English press was employed, at the public expence, to decry the French revolution. An attempt was made to revile and ridicule it—but without effect. It pursued its steady course, unawed, unabashed, and like Religion thrived by persecution. When slander could not disgrace it in the public opinion, recourse was had to our fears: we were gravely assured that anarchy, without breeches,

or even the Highland dress to conceal its nudities, was preparing to invade and plunder us. The news flew like wild-fire through all the treasury prints: Mr. Burke, like an able general, came valiantly forward with his huge octavo in confirmation of the fact, and in an instant the Duke of Portland, and all the old women in England, alarmed at the danger, and shocked at the indecency, marched over in a body to Mr. Pitt.

The acquisition of so much wisdom to the minister was a compliment to his measures—the addition of so much virtue, a flattering approbation of his chastity.

The person, supposed to have the most credit with the king, though acknowledged to be the least entitled to it, even by those who court his influence, was well aware, that if an alarm could be disseminated throughout the country, of property being in danger from the French revolution, the war then hatching, would become popular; that the current, then strongly in favour of France, would take a contrary direction, and run with equal violence against her. Happily for a plot which argued profound cunning and little foresight, an occasion soon offered for carrying it into execution: the inoffensive meeting of various people to commemorate the fall of the Bastille, at a public dinner at the Crown and Anchor, and the satisfaction universally expressed in every house, mansion, and hovel in the three kingdoms, at an event announcing the dawn of Liberty in France, were magnified into an approbation of the disorders inseparable from a revolution, and an inference drawn, as wicked as it was false, that a design was forming in this country to subvert the throne, abolish titles, and to imitate the excesses of a people, whose emancipation from slavery was alone the cause of those triumphs and rejoicings, so offensive to the enemies of our constitutional rights. That the friends of Liberty were too sanguine in their expectations, and too confident that the results of the great change in France would correspond with their expectations, has been demonstrated by subsequent events. But delusion is not crime. To wish well to the general happiness and freedom of mankind, is one thing—to approve of their excesses, is another. It was reserved for those about the British throne to blend and confound the two sentiments together, and give to the former impression, the infamy due only to the latter.

In possession of the means of misleading the public mind, by corrupting those, whose talents and attainments were qualified to guide and instruct it; secured in a manner from all responsibility by the impudic confidence which parliament of late years has reposed in the servants of the crown, the minister neither shame nor guilt in applying no inconsiderable por-

tion of the money, taken from the pockets of the people, to most liberally reward those who were employed to abuse their credulity, and deceive them to their ruin. To have practised this profligacy at any time, would argue little discretion; but to do it with the terrible example in full view of the French court, whose bankruptcy was occasioned by its wanton extravagance, evinced a total disregard to consequences, and partook equally of crime and insanity.

If the feelings of those in his Majesty's confidence had been in unison with the general feeling of the country at that eventful period—if that which diffused satisfaction and joy through England, Scotland, and Ireland, could have penetrated the flinty and obdurate hearts of men unhappily entrusted with our destiny—if they had possessed any thing like sympathy, or fellow-feeling—if they had been susceptible of those exalted sentiments which mark nobility of mind as well as of birth, they would have separated the vices of a few from the errors of the many, and lamented the probable and too visible issue of so much rashness and folly. But, no—the crimes and extravagances committed in France, were circumstances too favourable to the views of those who had resolved, early in 1791, to go to war at all events, as soon as the veil could with decency be thrown aside; that is, as soon as the public mind in England had been properly worked upon, and its apprehensions sufficiently inflamed to bear down—overwhelm—and destroy in our breasts all sense, all horror of the iniquity of unprovoked aggression.

The project unfortunately succeeded—the great bulk of those who had something to lose, were deceived into a firm belief, that the only security they possessed for their property was a war with France—consequently every excess of folly, or of crime, on the other side of the Channel, was eagerly published with every possible exaggeration on this side; and to make the guilt more terrible;—to bring its sad consequences more effectually home to every man's bosom, it was artfully held out, that correspondent feelings and sentiments prevailed in this country; that plans were concerting between a rabble in London and the French government, with a view to a revolution in England, and a general plunder of property. In order to inflame men's minds to the very fury of resentment, the name of French principles was artfully given to what our Newgate Calendar bore ample testimony did not exclusively belong to France. French principles became the war-whoop—a watch-word amongst the king's friends, as they impudently called themselves, as if all his majesty's subjects, were



not the king's friend,<sup>1</sup>—Inferences were drawn from local and temporary transgressions in France, of a plan to subvert our constitution—with these inferences, fallacious as they were, and supported by government, a Mr. Reeves, well instructed in the part he was to act, without property or character to lose, or of note, or consequence, and very slenderly gifted with talents, boldly advertised a meeting in 1792, for the protection of property against levellers and republicans, artfully blending moral offences with

\* If more important objects did not press on the notice of the committee of finance, it would be advisable to call on ministers for an account of all the sums issued by John Reeves, Esq. from the first of January, 1790, to the first of January 1806, inclusive, with copies of voucher, &c. the minutiae of the uses to which the sums is used by different departments to that gentleman were applied. The production of the papers will enable the world to make a tolerable guess at the gross amounts paid to other mercenaries and journalists for the purposes of delusion.

Some with a view to their personal interests—many from being seriously alarmed by the trumpet of this hero—and others holding situations under government, fearful of being branded as Jacobins if they did not come forward, flew in crowds to enrol themselves under the banners of a man, whose name until then was unknown, but as gunners were required, as well as names the proofs of loyalty thus artfully excited, became a tax upon many who could ill afford to pay it—Those who had no apprehension of the altar and the throne being in danger, or who, conscious of their attachment to the constitution, did not feel it necessary to have a certificate of their loyalty authenticated by Mr. Reeves, were exposed to the licentious scurrilities of a banditti of libellers, and this melodrama was performed with wonderful success, as long as the fears and credulity of mankind could be worked upon with any benefit to the parties concerned. Indeed the subscriptions at first flowed in with such wonderful rapidity, that the chairman, who, with a less prudent attention to *liberty* than to *economy*, officiated as a secretary under a borrowed name, was so overwhelmed by receipts, that he has never since been enabled to account for the expenditure. A bolder stroke to fix in the public mind, and break it down to that standard of "*unconditional submission*," which yet reigns lord paramount in our public councils, was afterwards made, when the constitution was invaded by the two bills brought into parliament by Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville. The one altering the law of the land in cases of high treason, and the other for restraining the freedom of the press to a condition almost as abject and as useless as it was in France under the old government. From that moment an attempt was made to identify the minister with the sovereign, and make it a species of treason to speak even disrespectfully of the former. The attempts, which were numerous, and made in almost every part of England, did not succeed to the full extent they were intended; but they met with a degree of success<sup>1</sup>, which most strongly

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<sup>1</sup> An ignorant, but servile and officious magistrate, at Gosport previous to 1800, committed a labouring man to prison for having cursed William Pitt in the streets. The magistrate was indeed prosecuted, but owing to some informality in the proceedings, or perhaps to the chicanery of law, which all lawyers know to be by far the best part of the profession, he escaped the punishment he deserved, but his zeal was highly applauded as an unquestionable proof of his being a staunch friend to church and state.—It is, however, a lamentable state of things, when nothing short of the most abject servility to the crown, or to its ministers, is regarded as a proof of loyalty, or considered as claim or passport to public employment.

speculative opinions in religion and politics, and stamping the one with the odium belonging to the other.

These manœuvres marked the pettifogger — not the statesman. The head that hatches them may be long, but it is also narrow, like a tradesman's bill, and fit only for the reception of pounds, shillings, and pence. The experiment was made—property was every day proclaimed to be in danger; and it was strong presumptive evidence of disaffection, and of irreligion, not to join in the cry. Fear is contagious—it has also the mischievous quality of magnifying, as well as of multiplying, the dangers it apprehends, and proves the baseness of its origin by the means it takes to fence itself. Prodigality became no less alarmed than avarice—the farmer, the trader, mechanic, miser, and spend-thrift, all flocked to the standard of Mr. Reeves for protection. He only took their pence, to save their shillings; but the dupes have since been called upon to subscribe their guineas to preserve their pounds, and the triumph of fraud is complete. These preparatory means answered the ends proposed. The nation was artfully conducted, step by step, to the point desired—its mind, just and magnanimous, was perverted, to answer the foulest purposes of deliberate injustice—its credulity, worked upon by its fears, was deceived into a belief that France meditated the destruction of England, at the very moment that, occupied, or rather absorbed, in her own domestic troubles, she had neither leisure nor inclination to extend her views beyond her own confines. Most pacifically disposed towards all nations—meaning neither war nor outrage of any kind to other states, and most amicably disposed towards this country, she hailed every Englishman who approached her shores as a friend and brother, come to felicitate her on an event interesting to all mankind, and which she felt assured he would be the first to feel and to applaud. So far from meditating insult or injury at the period to which

marked the degeneracy of the times, and proved, that though the government was not revolutionized into a tyranny, the minds of men, subdued by their fears, or perverted by interest, had undergone a change very favourable to the silent march of despotism. Unfortunately for civil liberty, despotism has two modes of attack—the one by a coup de main—the other by sap. The man formed for empire, and fit to govern, adopts the former—the latter is the resort of those who love the diadem for its wealth and its pageantry.—The sceptre, with such men, has no other charms than the means it affords them of being mischievous or atrocious with impunity. Conducted by Silence and Cunning through bye ways and cross roads, they get possession of an authority they know not how to use to any good purpose, and felicitate themselves on the dexterity in obtaining, by trick, what they had not the courage to attempt by force.

I allude \*, she reposed confidently on the magnanimity of Great Britain not to add to the distress of France, by revenging the injuries received by the perfidious interference of the old government in the American quarrel. The wish of France was not hostility to the nation, or to its government—she respected the virtues of the sovereign, and held in estimation the talents of his minister. It was an alliance with England, not war, to which

\* 1790 and 1791.—I was at Paris, on a private mission, in both these years—living in habits of intimacy and confidential intercourse with the most respectable of those who attempted to conduct the nation through the tempest.—This intercourse, with my situation and general acquaintance, furnished me with the means of knowing the political sentiments of the various parties which at that time agitated France. Having resided some years in a neighbouring state, my character had preceded my arrival, and ensured me those unreserved communications, which circumstances would have withheld from a person less known. I became informed, not only of what related to their own important concerns in the interior, but with their sentiments of foreign powers, some of whom were intriguing with the members of the diplomatic committee, offering to acknowledge the new order of things in France, at the very moment they were professing much feeling for the fallen fortunes of the royal family, and holding out hopes of speedily re-instating the king in his former authority, without having either the means or the inclination to realize professions which events have since proved to have been perfidious.—Other courts, not so artful, or not having any views of aggrandisement at that time, openly ridiculed the revolution, and when occasion offered, personally insulted its leaders. The court of Turin gave the first example of this imprudence, and it was eagerly followed by the whole race of German princes, who looking forward, as usual, to subsidies from England, were not idle in accelerating hostilities, by which they were individually to be benefited at the expence of their unhappy people, whom they never failed to send to the slaughter-house, at so much per head, as soon as a market was opened for vending them.—In the midst of all these disgraceful cabals—of secret underhand frauds, and of public outrage—England never became an object of distrust, until the affair of the 10th of August, 1792, suggested to her ministers that they might observe less reserve in their conduct.—Mons. de la Fayette, Mons. de Noailles, and Mirabeau to his last moments—all of them decided friends to a limited monarchy, the only monarchy that ought to exist—were warmly disposed towards this country, and the whole nation participated in this sentiment.—I speak from a perfect knowledge of the fact; but it was enmity, not cordiality, that unfortunately animated, in those days, our public councils.—It would seem as if nothing short of a retrograde motion of France to that point from which Justice had driven her, would satisfy the courts of Europe; and when the veil began to be removed, and the indecency of the conditions revealed, on which alone she could expect repose, it was indignantly, and with great shew of reason, demanded: if Great Britain would allow no other nation to be free but herself? It seems strange, that a kind of insinivative abhorrence should be felt at all times by sovereigns and their ministers at the very mention of the word Liberty, even by those who derive their right, and owe their elevation to a throne, to a successful exercise of its best principles. What can they have to fear from a source so pure, if their own maxims of government are equally so, that they should tremble, as if they had an ague fit, at the bare sound of what has made their fortunes, and would serve as a rampart for the preservation of those fortunes, if they were as well instructed in the duties they owe, as they are in the of a court?

she looked forward; and if this sentiment had met with a correspondent reception on this side of the Channel, there is every reason to believe that Louis the Sixteenth would have been yet in existence, surrounded by his family, the monarch of a loyal and contented people; not with absolute power, as formerly, but under restrictions similar to those which happily bind the king of England, and without which monarchy would be despotism.

Of all the great changes which have happened in the affairs of men, there never was one of greater promise in the commencement, or more likely to ensure to mankind so large a portion of civil and political liberty.—Differing in its character and conduct from all former convulsions, with nothing sanguinary in its complexion, until perverted by intrigues and cabals of different factions contending for dominion, and by the cruel manœuvres of foreign emissaries—the French revolution, if left to itself, would soon have settled into a quiet but restricted monarchy, with greater power, and a larger civil list for the sovereign, than what parliament has allotted to the king of England. It would be as illiberal to place the murder of M. Foulon, and of Mr. Berthier, to the account of the révolution, as it would be to judge of the morals of this country by the atrocities recorded in the Newgate Calendar. On looking at that great event, we should look at the immense population of the country—the extreme vivacity of its inhabitants—the subjection in which they had been held for ages—the provocations they had received—and their unexpected release from the restraints of laws, and even of habitual respect to their superiors. When all these are considered, and how much room was given for the uncontrolled career of the worst passions, it will be matter of surprise that greater irregularities were not committed, and especially when we recollect the distress and oppressions occasioned by the gabelle in particular provinces, and in every part of the kingdom, by the merciless exactions of farmers generals.

That the revolution did not long preserve this character for moderation cannot be denied, but it did not become dishonoured until the courts of Turin, Vienna, and Prussia, by inundating Paris with their emissaries, and the ill advised queen \*, by her imprudence, gave additional vigour and activity to the spirit of intrigue that unhappily mixed itself with public affairs, and irritated the public mind to madness. At this epoch strangers

\* It is scarcely possible to recur to the afflicting history of this unfortunate Princess, without being overwhelmed with grief at her sad destiny—deserving of better fortunes, and entitled to a better fate, she fell a victim to her imprudence.

from all parts of the world flocked to Paris as to a fair; in this mixture were seen men sent by foreign courts, pour attiser le feu, et faire monter les têtes.—Unfortunately the French character, at all times too susceptible of impressions, was more than ever exposed to the artful designs of those whose object was to convulse the country by internal discord—to give birth to various projects and forms of governments—to indispose the people against their legitimate Prince, and to arm the different factions against each other, in the criminal design of exciting a civil war that would render France an easy prey to surrounding nations. I speak from a positive knowledge of the facts I relate, and dreading the result of this country mixing itself in a confederacy so dishonourable to her character, and so injurious to her interests, I informed the secretary of state for foreign affairs †, that Prussia, at the very moment she was arranging with the late Emperor Joseph the Second the convention of Pilnitz, offered to acknowledge the new order of things in France, provided the National Assembly would declare war against Austria; this happened in 1791. At that time Spain counted upon having Navarre—and the court of Vienna,—Alsace—Mr. Pitt had his eye upon St. Domingo, but said nothing. It was at this period that the leaven, so freely diffused, began to ferment, and soon

and her fortitude. Her principal error was insulting those whom she disliked or despised, without reflecting how much they had it in their power, by having the public opinion in their favour, to ruin her and the hapless king.—Overrating at once the disposition and the means of her brother, at that moment at war with his revolted subjects in the low countries, she counted upon assistance from the court of Vienna which it could not give, and hastened her destruction by her efforts to restore to her husband a sceptre he had neither the force nor the address to wield—apprized of what was transacting at the Tuilleries, of her hopes and her projects, and aware of the fate that attended her, I took the liberty to respectfully intimate to her Majesty, through the Princesse de Tarente, whom I frequently met at dinner at the Duc d'Arenberg's, the absolute necessity of her quitting France without delay, offering to convey her to England. This was declined with expressions of kindness for the concern I took in her Majesty's fortunes, accompanied by a declaration which the event proved to have been sincere, that "*She would never on any account separate herself from the king, but share his fate whatever it might be.*" Her courage and her sufferings more than atone for all her indiscretions.

If she would have resigned herself to the tempest, which it was beyond her strength to resist, and allowed the revolution to take its course, without secretly endeavouring to counteract its march; if she had possessed sufficient resolution to renounce all other means of recovering the throne, but what events, growing out of the times, might have furnished, and spurned the crowd of adventurers, each with his infallible plan for accomplishing a counter revolution, by whom she was daily assailed, deceived, and insulted, she would probably have survived the storm, and have been again the idol of the French nation. History, in lamenting her delusion, will pity her misfortunes, and only record her courage, and the barbarity of her assassins.

† Lord Grenville.

after it became evident that a confederacy was formed, not only for the purpose of strangling the infant liberties of France, but for despoiling her of her best provinces.

This conspiracy\*, formed early in 1791, when France, crippled by the dissolution of her government, prostrate and unable to defend herself, seemed easy to be subdued; her National Assembly without the means or inclination to be hostile—debating, whilst the house was in flames, whether they should give a ball or a concert in it—the ridicule of Europe for their puerilities, and resembling a parcel of monkeys playing at legislation—such was the state of France, impotent and inoffensive, when his Majesty was unfortunately advised to resolve upon hostilities, without the counsellors of a measure so injudicious and unwarrantable, having any provocation to urge, or any colourable pretext to offer, in excuse for the part they had advised the king to take; it was not until the conduct of the coalesced powers without, and their perfidious intrigues in the interior of France was discovered, that doubts were entertained of their peaceable intentions—it was not till then that distrust prevailed, not only of the sincerity of foreign powers, but of every man who had taken an active part in the revolution—all confidence of course vanished, and the convention assumed for the first time that sanguinary character which afterwards rendered it the terror and the scourge of nations. It was this injudicious conduct in the foreign powers, that accelerated the ruin of the royal family, and deluged France with blood. It was this conspiracy of kings, as it was called, that produced the execrable decrees of the 19th November, and 15th of December, 1792, which ministers, with an indecent alacrity, had the effrontery to plead in justification of a war they had resolved upon at least eighteen months before this pretended provocation was given. The curtain soon after drew up; and the tragedy commenced—four long acts have been gone through, and though we are well advanced in the fifth, it would puzzle prescience to divine the catastrophe. Having distinctly stated the very early period at which this country resolved upon hostilities, and the terms upon which alone Mr. Pitt was told in 1791, he would be suffered to remain in office—having stated the unwarrantable means employed to inflame

\* Where are the conspirators—where is their union—their combination—and what has been the result of their confederacy? ruin to themselves, and slavery to their unhappy subjects. Such of the conspirators as have not been dethroned, owe their crowns to the compassion of the nation they would have exterminated, and with territories without dominion they vegetate objects of pity and of scorn in the ruin and obscurity they merit.

the minds of the people against France, in order to give a popularity to the war, which from the temper and good sense of the country was not at that time to be expected, I shall, in a subsequent appendix, publish some other facts not generally known, from documents in my possession, which will illustrate more strongly the inflexible resolve to war with France at all events, and prove that no concessions she could have made for some years after its commencement, could have induced the confidential servants of the crown to abstain from persevering in an unjust and fatal aggression.

### Appendix C.

THIS extraordinary occurrence happened in 1791.—I speak from a perfect knowledge of the circumstance; and as those who had a share in giving that mischievous advice, and those who were concerned in communicating the alternative of "*war with France, or resignation,*" to the consideration of the minister, are yet in existence, I dare them to deny the fact.—The country is not yet apprized of the full extent of its obligations to some of the parties; but as cunning, in this instance, has completely over-reached itself, as cunning is apt to do, and the season of reflection seems to be returning—we shall then see of what materials that something behind the throne, "*which is greater than the throne itself,*" is composed, and with what firmness he will meet the united indignation of an abused sovereign and a ruined people.—At the period at which it was intimated to Mr. Pitt, that he must *war with France, or resign*, the French revolution was in its cradle—it had scarcely peeped over the Boulevards at Paris; the ablest of its leaders, the man\* the most likely to look beyond the Rhine, the Channel, or the Pyrenees, and whose mind was as comprehensive as it was enterprising, was decidedly for preserving the *relations of peace and amity* †, and as he at that time swayed the public opinion, and France hailed him for the moment as one of her deliverers, he aimed—( I

\* Mons. de Mirabeau.

† This was the diplomatic jargon of Lord Greyville.

speak from a knowledge of the fact, being at the time on the spot, and in the habits of daily intercourse with him)—to preserve peace, and to avoid every thing, even in public debate, that might give offence to foreign powers—consequently the intimation was made to Mr. Pitt, to war or resign, before any umbrage could possibly have been given to our government, or any rational alarm excited in a mind not vitiated or deranged. What share the prospect of admiralty droits to an enormous amount, with the rich harvest of a heavy war expenditure to those who well know how to *reap*, may have had in a resolve so injudicious in the first instance, and that has proved so fatal in its progress, is unnecessary to enquire—it will be sufficient to observe, that if Mr. Pitt had possessed that dignity of mind which marked the splendid career of his immortal father\*—if he could have forgotten the treasury and all its appurtenances, and looked resignation fully in the face, with half the effrontery he braved his opponents in the house of commons, his descent from power would only have been momentary—his return; the proud triumph of public opinion!—Public opinion, on some occasions is decisive;—impatient of delay, it displays its terrific energies; and when its justice is as obvious as its voice is potent, it bears down with irresistible force the insolent clamours of cabal, and even prerogative, if it has the folly to thrust itself between the caprice of authority and the public good. If the public virtue of Mr. Pitt had borne any proportion to the great occasion which called for its best exertions—if failing in his respectful representations to the throne, to convince his abused and royal master that he was ill advised, that the counsel he had received was no less dangerous to his crown than to the interests of the nation, and that the paramount consideration of public duty left him no alternative but to resign, he would have fixed himself for ever in the hearts of the king and people, and saved his sovereign from dishonor;—his country from destruction.—But the mind of Mr. Pitt was not equal to such an effort—his pigmy ambition soared no higher than to office. The book of vacancies was far more important in his estimation than the interests

\* When his majesty, in a hapless moment, introduced into his councils the late Lord Bute, his lordship sent a message to the late Earl of Chatham, offering him a seat in the new cabinet, which he declined without hesitation, declaring he would never be responsible for measures not his own. What we owe to the magnanimity and transcendent abilities of the latter, are upon record—what we have derived from the wisdom of the former, and from the counsels of the man whom he bequeathed as a legacy to his sovereign, and a curse to the country, may be easily ascertained by comparing the state of the nation in 1768, with what it was in 1760.



of the empire, or the destiny of nations; and his loyalty to the country gave way to his loyalty to an individual. The love of peace, which he had before avowed as essential to the accomplishment of his plans of finance, was lost in his love of patronage—and the difficulties of a contest with a vast and powerful nation, with whose character and resources he was totally ignorant, instantly vanished, as soon as he became apprized of the terms on which he was to remain minister, and the statesman was lost in the place man.

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### *Appendix D.*

CET Electeur possédoit la Prusse à un étrange titre—les chevaliers de l'ordre Teutonique, chassés de Syrie par les Sarrasins, ne savoient où se retirer, & ils étoient trente mille tous Allemands—Rome, l'Empire, & la Pologne, convinrent de leur donner la Prusse à conquérir sur les peuples barbares & idolâtres qui en étoient les habitans & les maîtres, & qui avoient un roi & une forme d'état—la conquête fût difficile, longue & sanglante—à la fin elle réussit, & l'ordre Teutonique devint très puissant.—Le grand-maître y étoit absolu & traité en roi avec un cour & des grands revenus—il y avoit un maître de l'ordre sous le grand-maître qui avoit son état à part, & grand nombre de commanderies. La religion y fleurit, & l'ordre avec elle, jusqu'à entreprendre des conquêtes, & d'envahir la Samogitie & la Lithuanie, ce qui causa de longues & cruelles guerres entre eux, & les Polonois. Luther ayant répandu sa commode doctrine en Allemagne, ces chevaliers s'y engagèrent, & usurpèrent héréditairement leurs commanderies. Albert de Brandebourg, étoit lors grand-maître, il réunit tous les droits & privilèges de l'ordre qui l'avoit élu s'en appropria les richesses communes, se moqua du pape et de l'empereur; & sous prétexte de terminer la guerre de Pologne, partagea la Prusse avec elle, dont la part fût appelée Prusse royale, & la Sienné ducale, & lui duc de Prusse.

*Mémoires de Duc de St. Simon. 6th vol. 252d page.*

### *Translation*

\* This elector possessed Prussia by a very singular title. The knights of the Teutonic order, driven from Syria at the time of the Crusades by the Saracens, did not know where to seek

shelter—they amounted to 30,000, all Germans. The German empire, Poland, and the pope, agreed to give them Prussia to conquer, at that time inhabited by a barbarous people, plunged in idolatry, and who had a king, and a form of government. The conquest was long, difficult, and bloody; but in the end successful, and the order became powerful. The grand-master was absolute, and held a court with all the regalia of a sovereign prince, and had considerable revenues. There was also a master of the order under him, with an establishment independent of the other, and a great number of commanderies. Religion flourished, and with it the order, to a degree that enabled them to invade Samogitie and Lithuanie, and extend their conquests, which occasioned long and furious wars between them and the Poles. On Luther's doctrines penetrating into Germany, his cause was espoused by the knights, who, usurping the commanderies, rendered them hereditary. Albert, the grand-master, united all the rights and privileges in his own person of the knights who had elected him—appropriated to himself the riches of the community, set the pope and the emperor at defiance, and under the pretext of terminating the war of Poland, divided Prussia with her—one part of which was called Prussia Royal;—to his own he gave the title of Ducal Prussia, stiling himself Duke of Prussia"—Hence the origin of that kingdom, which under Frederic the Great aspired to wrest from the House of Austria the imperial title.—Its fall from that height is known to every body, and lamented by nobody—It was reserved for the nineteenth century to punish the accumulated guilt of centuries.

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### *Appendix E.*

THIS project was conceived by the Duc d'Aiguillon\*, during the short time he was minister for foreign affairs in 1771, but the Duc de Choiseul, who was his decided enemy, and fond of war, secretly opposed a measure calculated to banish war from Europe, and finally succeeded in procuring the dismissal of a man from power, in whose disgrace all France felt a lively interest,

\* Father to the Duke d'Aiguillon, whom the malice of party accused of having headed the mob that marched on the 5th of October, 1789, to Versailles, to compel Louis the Sixteenth to remove to Paris. Having had the honour to be personally acquainted with his Grace in France, and to have known him afterwards in London

on account of his violently arbitrary conduct in Brittany. The plan of an alliance with England was sufficiently matured at the

I had frequent occasion to converse with him on the subject of that enterprise, and no doubt remains in my mind of the falsehood of the slander. I am satisfied that neither the late Duke of Orleans, nor the Duke d'Anguillon were at Versailles on that occasion. Monsieur Mirabeau, who certainly had no friendship for the former, and who neither respected his talents nor his character, answered him asking him if the Duke of Orleans was really culpable, "Oui, de ne l'avoir pas été." The conduct of the King, on that lamentable night, did not contribute to inspire those about him with confidence, or the people with respect. The outrage offered to that unfortunate monarch in the dead hour of night, originated in the imprudent advice of those about him, to fly to some strongly fortified town near the Austrian frontier, where his pretensions would be supported by an Austrian army—there to issue proclamations, declaring the National Assembly rebels, and calling upon his loyal subjects to resort to the royal standard, in defence of his crown. It was the fate of that prince, throughout his whole reign, to be not only badly advised, but latterly to be surrounded by traitors.—Whatever was proposed in his private councils—the plots and contrivances of the queen, were no sooner agitated, than they were transmitted to the Junto at the Palais Royal, where the mob always attended for information of what was going forward. As soon as they became apprized of this project, they took the alarm, aware that if the king could possess himself of Lille or Valenciennes, or any other fortress, and make it a rallying point, the army would flock to his standard. It was to prevent such a catastrophe, that they marched to Versailles, resolved to have their sovereign amongst them as a security for the progress of the revolution. There was more wisdom in this measure than in that of exciting the king to commence a civil war; and if its execution was not marked with an equal degree of justice and sagacity, if the enterprise was stained with blood, the guilt belongs to those whose imprudent councils forced the people to this extremity as a measure of precaution. The ministers of the crown looked only to the recovery of an authority they had deservedly forfeited by having most grossly abused it. The king, individually, counted for nothing in the business; he was merely a puppet in their hands, as weak kings are apt to be, when they have not the cunning to place themselves at the head of a cabal of their own chusing.

The people, with views far more generous and extensive, looked forward to the accomplishment of what they thought would prove a great good to themselves and posterity. If those who undertook to conduct the revolution to a happy issue, were insincere or unequal to the enterprise, the blame did not attach to the people, but to those who had, by their conduct, rendered such a measure indispensable.

The whole machine of government, like a watch gone down, was stopped. Those at the head of it were incapable of winding it up, and, as it always happens in such cases, force was to supply the place of wisdom; the army was resorted to, not to

Awakened, after midnight, on that lamentable occasion, by the clashing of arms, the number of his guards in the interior of his palace, and clamours for his appearance at the windows, as the only means of appeasing an infuriated multitude, the alarmed monarch frequently demanded of his valet de chambre, while pulling on his Majesty's stockings, "*Où se vont-ils pour me faire du mal, Thierry?*" "They will not hurt me, Thierry?" "Non, Sire, le peuple vous aime, mais je crains pour le roi." No, Sire, the people love you, but I tremble for the queen—"Qu'elle s'arrange, Qu'elle s'arrange." Let her take care of herself, let her take care of herself, was the reply of the king, which certainly implied more fear than gallantry. The fact is that Louis the Sixteenth was not fitted for the age, in which he had the misfortune to be born—a century back would have better suited his temper and capacity—his life offers a wholesome lesson to contemporary princes, not to abuse the patience of a suffering people, or to trust to the military for a support of unjust and ill-advised measures.

time of his resignation to have been offered to the consideration of the British court, and a person was nominated to proceed confidentially to London on the important mission, when the change in the councils of Lewis the Fifteenth put an end to a project which subsequent events have proved would have been advantageous for Europe as well as for the contracting parties. It was the Marquis de Joviac whom the Duc d'Aiguillon had selected for the mission, and it was from that gentleman, whom I met at a German court in 1785, I received this anecdote. This information was the more interesting, as I had conceived a similar idea four years before, and had conversed much on the subject with the late Marquis de Bouillé and the Vicount de Damas, then colonel of the regiment of Auxurois, who were decidedly in favour of an alliance, which they felt, equally with myself, would be conducive to the general happiness of mankind. Anxious to know the particulars of the projected arrangements which were to unite the views and interests of two powerful and rival nations, and desirous to communicate to Mr. Pitt, with whom I was in correspondence, whatever I could collect on a subject so interesting and important, I opened myself without reserve to the Marquis de Joviac, and having convinced him of the sincerity of the concern I felt at the failure of a project, combining in its provisions the security and prosperity of both countries, and the peace of the world, I asked his permission to communicate the substance of what he had related to the English minister; requesting, if it could be done with propriety, to favour me with a sketch of the intended treaty, on the basis upon which the Duc d'Aiguillon intended the two nations

maintain legitimate authority, but to exact "*unconditional submission*." The whole kingdom convulsed, because it was every where distressed by the bankruptcy, occasioned by a prodigal court, who looked upon public revenue as its patrimony for private expenditure—vented its complaints, not in sighs and idle lamentations, but in low murmurs, which humanity would not have spurned, nor policy have disregarded. The grievances were real, not affected; and if allegiance is a duty on the part of the people, protection is no less so on the part of government.—To put all upon Dobbins is rather too much. It was this error that lost Charles the First his life in the seventeenth century.—It brought Louis the Sixteenth to the scaffold towards the close of the eighteenth. When the people first complained, dragons were dispatched to answer them with the sabre—but complaints well founded are not to be silenced by the bayonet.—They speak to the senses of mankind as well as to their passions, and are irresistible. Public virtue unarmed looks despotism full in the face, and bold in her innocence, braves all menace. The dagger falls from the guilty hand of the assassin, palsied by her frown, and her triumph is complete. I do not mean to justify the atrocities committed at Versailles in October, 1789, or at any period of the revolution—I only mean to say, that the guilt of all these excesses belongs more to those who brought the kingdom into difficulties by their incapacity and imprudence, than to the people. The people indeed first felt the effects of vicious and improvident councils, but the government ultimately became the victim of its own iniquities, and, in its extinction, found a punishment for its crimes.

should treat. I thought it by far the more manly and correct way, and certainly the most likely to succeed with a generous and enlightened mind, to have no kind of reserve, but to avow frankly the wish I felt to transmit to my government the subject of this interesting conversation. As the Marquis de Joviac was no less anxious than myself for the success of the project in which he was to have borne a part, he readily acceded to my request, and in a few days favoured me with the outline, or rough sketch, of the intended treaty. As soon as I obtained the desired permission, I lost no time in relating to Mr. Pitt what had come to my knowledge, and as public business soon after rendered it necessary to have a personal conference with him, I set off for England, in the October of that year, and not finding Mr. Pitt in London, I immediately proceeded to Burton Pynsent, where I arrived early enough on the 11th of October, (Monday, I think) to breakfast, and had the pleasure to give him the project, as delivered to me by the marquis, and, amongst other less important communications, the proposal of a tax upon legacies, should he ever unfortunately have occasion to add to the public burthens, candidly stating to him, that the suggestion was not an idea of my own, but was, I believe, one of the most productive taxes in the Seven United Provinces. He instantly made a memorandum of it in his pocket-book; but in acknowledging his obligations for the suggestion, expressed, and I thought with a degree of feeling that indicated sincerity, his firm hope that he would never have occasion to avail himself of it. With the project\* of the Duc d'Aiguillon, he seemed much pleased; and interested, as I felt myself, in Mr. Pitt's administration; charmed as I was by his eloquence, his youth, and his close application to business; I anticipated, from the combination of these circumstances, the happiest results from my having accidentally met with the Marquis de Joviac.— At this period Mr. Pitt possessed my unbounded confidence. His youth was an argument of his integrity: too young, as I thought, to be hacknied in the vices or tricks of the world; too far elevated above his contemporaries by a superiority of what struck me, in those days, as a vast and powerful master mind, to have recourse to subterfuge and underhand dealing, to obtain what force of talents, guided by honour, ought to have commanded; incensed against Mr. Fox for having brought public

\* In my great impatience to reach England, I had neglected to take a copy of this interesting paper; I have, however, a perfect recollection that France was to pledge herself not to have more than fifty sail of ships of war, including ships of the line, frigates, cutters, sloops, &c. in order to avoid exciting jealousy or alarm in England.

professions into disrepute, by coalescing with Lord North, and pleased to find a conduct so indecent, so fatal to that high character for rectitude, which every opposition ought to have in the estimation of the people, reprobated and hunted down by Mr. Pitt, I idolized him, and would have perished in his defence; but credulous and inexperienced, I over-rated the talents I adored, and the integrity I had erroneously estimated. If Mr. Fox, and after him, the Duke of Portland, have by their conduct dishonoured parliament in the public opinion—if they have thrown a general discredit on all opposition, by shewing the terms on which they were ready to support any minister and any measures, or to connect themselves with any man or set of men capable of bringing them into office—if we see the former shaking hands with the man whom he menaced with the block, that they might in conjunction trip up the heels of the late Lord Lansdowne, and regain the heaven they had lost—if we have seen in later days, the Duke of Portland, and his associates, joining Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville, whom they vehemently opposed for years, in defiance of all decency and decorum, and insulting the pride and prejudices of the nation, rendering us, if not an accomplice in their guilt, at least defenceless spectators of the venality that forges chains for our unoffending posterity, let it also be remembered, that Mr. Pitt has been no less instrumental in accumulating dishonour on his country, and accelerating public ruin, by meanly falling prostrate to the mischief, who stands like a curse between the throne and the people, barring all approach to the royal confidence, but by the intricate, serpentine course it has prescribed, and by which alone it has wriggled itself into the royal favour, and possessed itself of the only avenue to the legitimate object of our allegiance and veneration.

Whether parliament will ever recover the wounds, in appearance mortal, it has received from two men, whose talents were well calculated to dignify and exalt it, is a question I dare not discuss, seeing, as I do, the materials with which the finest possible structure of the imagination is composed; but that parliament ought to recover its character with the people, that it ought to make an effort to rescue itself from the state of degradation to which it has been tumbled from its stupendous, sublime height, and that it should teach the confidential servants of the crown, it is no longer a puppet in their hands, to be played with, nor a lacquey to wait on their will\*, are truths which no one will

\* The confidential servants of the crown have lately exacted as their right, that no member of either house of parliament shall presume to make a motion, without a previous intimation of his design, and of the object of the intended mo-

have the effrontery to assert, fallen as we are from what our ancestors were, and what I trust our posterity will be.

### *Appendix F.*

TO this great and first error in our aristocracy, so unworthy of their rank, their education, and of that manly dignified character so peculiarly their own, and which marks nobility of mind, as well as of descent, may be attributed all the calamities which have resulted to their country from the ill advised junction with a man who was any thing but a statesman. The supposed head of that opposition, whose dissolution released the king and his ministers from that constitutional controul, without which we have no other security for our liberties than the virtues of the sovereign, or an appeal to arms, was little aware of the mischiefs he was preparing for his country, and of the ruin and dishonour that was likely to result to his own order, for the preservation of which

tion. With the private feelings of men, on matters merely personal, no one has a right to interfere; but on questions of a public nature, connected with the safety of the empire, and the happiness of nations, and where only one public feeling ought to pervade the whole, it must be matter of serious regret, that any minister should have been suffered to advance such a principle in a British parliament, without instantly receiving that reproof it deserved, in a vote of censure, for an assumption so preposterous and insolent. I do not know that I have conceived an opinion of the dignity and importance of parliament beyond what it is most honourably entitled to. I have been taught, from my cradle, to venerate as holy, an institution that has rendered my country the envy and the admiration of the world; and though, from a train of causes, too obvious to repeat, it has of late been little tenacious of its character, my affection and veneration for the establishment remains unimpaired. As a member of the democracy, I cannot but identify myself with the house of commons, and feel an indignity offered to it, as an insult offered personally to myself; and with this feeling, and a feeling no less strong for the honour and integrity of the other house of parliament, I hope it will not be deemed disrespectful to the crown, if I assert, that no member of either house is bound, either by the constitution or by ancient usage, to give previous notice to ministers, of any motion intended to be made, or to communicate the object of it, which will in general appear upon the very face of it. Power has an unruly appetite; it is voracious, as well as insatiable, and but for the check of parliament, we should have neither security nor protection. In making these observations, on a fact which has given me much pain, I do not mean to make any charge against this or that administration: indeed there is little to choose between them. We have little to record in favour of either. It is the abuse which has crept in of which I complain, because it aims directly at the very authority, at that superintending, censorial power of parliament, as well as its dignity, without which we should sink into a vile and disgraceful servitude.

he seemed so anxious. Reasoning from false premises, and not apprised, perhaps, of the consequences resulting from erroneous conclusions, when practically applied to the great concerns of a nation, his grace had the indiscretion to say he would rather leave one-third of his fortune to his son under a monarchical, than the whole of it under a republican government; but if one of the great ends of society is security of property, and it certainly is not of a secondary rank, the form under which property is secured can be of little import. When his grace expressed his partiality for what is no longer entitled to respect than while it is conducive to the purposes for which men have agreed to live in community, he appears to have forgotten that a monarchical form of government does not necessarily include the existence of an aristocracy entitled to share with the sovereign, the honours, the emoluments and cares of state? Is he so little conversant with past and present history, as not to know, that though the English monarchy is happily limited, there are other monarchies which are absolute? Is he yet to learn, that where the sovereign authority is vested in an individual, that personal liberty and personal property cannot be secure?

The conditions, however, on which the noble duke consented to join Mr. Pitt, certainly did not announce that total indifference to his personal interests, which his pretended readiness to sacrifice two-thirds of his splendid inheritance, in compliment to monarchy, would lead us to suppose. It is possible that the good things which his grace stipulated and obtained for himself, his friends, and dependents, may have contributed to fix his wavering politics to the full as much as that abundant affection he avowed for monarchy, and all doubt will be removed whenever the circumstances attending this despicable intrigue are revealed. Though the principal agents in this dishonourable and most mischievous business are no more, yet enough of the transaction is known to prove, that the monarch owes as little to the loyalty of his grace, as the country does to his patriotism.

The renewal of the lease of the Mary-le-Bonne estate, containing ten good acres, every inch of which is covered in, and all substantially built upon, was more than a sufficient bribe for all the parliamentary strength, and all the hereditary wisdom, his grace could have brought to the spot. The rest of the directors took care to stipulate good terms for themselves; and if they had shown us much ingenuity in determining their conduct, or dexterity in making their bargains, their motives for joining the minister would have been better veiled, and their guilt, in appearance, have lost much of its turpitude. But the reasons assigned were



so flimsy, and so fallacious, as even to carry full evidence that those who urged them, did not believe them. It was pleaded in excuse for that desertion, that if government acknowledged the new order of things in France, the abolition of titles would follow, of course in England, and they were worth fighting for. If the preservation of our laws and constitution had been coupled with this excuse, the people might have indulged the pleasing hope that their welfare also counted for something in the estimation of those who felt so much for their coronets; but the anxiety expressed on the occasion was entirely personal; it was as little connected with the national interests and national honour, as it was with common sense and common decency. On its being asked, if, after a seven year's bloody war, we should be finally compelled to recognize the new government of France, what apology could be offered to the country for having involved it in such a contest? It was answered, that Providence having thrown them into that *cast*, it was worth fighting for, and fight they would\*. From whence it is evident, that for interests absolutely personal, and those persons of small account, compared with the population of the country, and even with their own order, the nation has been plunged into a war, the sad consequences of which even pre-cience cannot foresee. The lives of thousands and the fortunes of millions were of little value in the estimation of those who set so high a price on their titles. The fee-simple of all their estates, converted into an annuity, with the whole of what they have plundered the country in sinecures, grants, pensions, and reversions, since their mercenary junction with Mr. Pitt, would not discharge the interest of the expences incurred in complaisance to their prejudices, their fears, their guilt, and their folly! It is a strange defect in the policy and political institutions of nations, that causes so trivial should be permitted to inflict such calamities on the world, and that half a dozen, or a lesser number, of individuals, not very happily gifted either with talents or with feeling, should have the power to prolong, as their avarice, their caprice, or their malice shall dictate, the miseries of mankind.

\* Such were the precise words of a conversation that passed in the summer of 1794, between a peer of parliament, a member of the then administration, and a late member of the house of commons, who called on his lordship to lament his defection from the genuine whig principles, to which this country owed her former splendor and dominion, and the full and entire restoration of which can alone save her from destruction.

*Appendix G.*

THE abolition of titles in France took place on the motion of Monsieur Matthew de Montmorency, a member of the National Assembly in 1790, not for the purpose, as Mr. Burke asserted, of destroying the privileged orders, on which that name reflected more lustre than any other, but for the purpose of rescuing the ancient nobility from being confounded with the vile mixture of self-created counts and marquises with whom Europe was overrun, and whose adventures brought disgrace on the aristocracy, and on the nation itself—the most effectual way to get rid of this mob of titles, was to dissolve and melt the whole into the general mass, *de les refondre*, with a view in due time to restore that rank purified from the innumerable swarms which had been foisted into it from the bar, from commerce, finance, and the pavé; but the turn which the French revolution unfortunately took, on being forced out of its natural and original course, by the perfidious, and cowardly conduct of the different courts of Europe, prevented the accomplishment of this well-intentioned measure, and exposed the noble author of the proposed reform, to all that obloquy which Mr. Burke, from the worst of motives, so copiously lavished on those whom he deserted or opposed.—Whether the wisdom of the measure corresponded with the purity of the design, is unnecessary to enquire. The fact, as stated, was well known to Mr. Burke when he accused the parties concerned of a mean and criminal renunciation of their birth-rights; but calumny loses all its atrocity in a mind insensible to remorse, and misrepresentations never had any thing very offensive to the morals of that gentleman, whenever it suited his purpose to resort to them.

It is from Monsieur de Montmorency I hold this fact; I knew him, and it is a justice due to the integrity of that insulted nobleman, to rescue him from the slander of a man who never spared the throne or the cottage, whenever it suited his malice or his interest to abuse either.

It was with equal indecency that Mr. Burke accused Monsieur De la Fayette of having connived at the escape of Louis the Sixteenth from Paris in 1791, and allowed him to proceed to Varennes, that he might enjoy the malignant triumph of bringing back the sovereign a degraded prisoner to his metropolis. Mons. de Bouillé, with whom I was intimately acquainted, from having been his prisoner in the American war, assured me to the contrary.—He was in the secret of that ill-managed flight of

an ill-advised sovereign, and has since publicly vindicated, in his printed memoirs, the character of Mons. De la Fayette from the unmanly aspersion; an aspersion the more atrocious for having been thrown on him whilst immured in a dungeon, and without the means of refuting the slander, even if he had known the contrivance of malice to embitter his afflictions.

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### *Appendix H.*

IT is impossible that the Duke of Portland and his associates can ever forget the last meeting they had with Mr. Fox and his friends, when they met by appointment for the last time at Devonshire-house; it was at that last sad interview; at that fatal meeting of an opposition, formidable from their numbers, and with the solitary exception of their nominal leader, formidable in point of talents, that the credit of the only constitutional check on the despotism of the crown was extinguished—the parliamentary opposition, (the honorary guardians of the constitution), fell on that memorable occasion, to rise perhaps no more, and with it fell the pride, the glory, and the best defence of Britain. Ministers from that moment felt themselves unfettered by restraints, unawed by the controul of superior talents, and by dread of public shame, which sometimes holds the place of virtue. Many of those who were present at this meeting of the Old and New Whigs, as they called themselves, will do justice to the enlarged and comprehensive mind of Mr. Fox, to the correct views he had of the probable effects of the French revolution, and to his exquisite sensibility on finding himself compelled to relinquish the endearing ties of long-established friendships, or of becoming an accomplice in the ruin of his country. He preferred his duty to his interest, and by the virtue of that resolve, amply atoned for all the political errors of his former life. Mr. Burke, indeed, triumphed for the moment, but it was only to render his fall more conspicuous, and his disgrace eternal—even a vagrant, fugitive, priesthood, who hailed him in the plenitude of his borrowed glory, as their Messiah, disdain to chant hymns to his memory, and with all his blind devotion to their frauds and superstition, would not honour him with a mass to

ensure his salvation. It will be difficult to ascertain at this period, what that personage received from the remnant of the French court, during the short interval of its existence after the destruction of the Bastile; but if any credit is due to the questionable testimony of M. Calonne, the sum that Mr. Burke received from the French court, more than trebled what was derived from the sale of his *Reflections on the French Revolution*, 17,000 copies of which were said by Doddsley to have been sold. This extraordinary production, which did far greater credit to the eloquence of the author, than to his judgment, his character, or discretion, may be said, to have sealed the destruction of Europe.—It gave a false bias to the informed and uninformed minds of those, who were to guide the public opinion, as well as to direct the public force of nations.—It was that book, so much in favour, where it should have been spurned, published the latter end of 1790, or early in 1791, that decided this country to war with unoffending France. The revolution was then in its infancy; it had announced nothing hostile to other nations, nothing offensive to their governments, nor any thing very criminal against its own; and that this country should have resolved upon hostilities without provocation, without even the prospect of any one good resulting from the contest, argues either extreme wickedness, or extreme insanity, or perhaps both: for there is malice as well as cunning in madness.—Much future good, however, may result from having been precipitated into this unjustifiable, this unprincipled war. It may induce, if not the present generation, at least its posterity, to calculate (if the science of arithmetic will enable them) the sum total of the calamities which this flagrant aggression has occasioned to the civilized world, and whenever such an investigation is undertaken, the magnitude of almost every event in the space of fifteen years, will be found of a nature to startle, not so much our credulity, as our imagination. The long interval appears as a dream, or fiction of a brain diseased, and it requires no ordinary degree of mental firmness, for the memory to deliberately contemplate all the tremendous changes and occurrences produced by the subversion of the French government. History, in recording the transactions of these days, will hazard her character for veracity; effects contradicting the experience of ages, and giving the lie to the causes that produced them, are not the least marvellous of the occurrences which are to discredit the historian who records

them. Every change appears to be the effect of magic, and yet we know the agency to be human.

The subversion of empires has been accomplished with less difficulty than removing a pauper to his parish, and kings are made to appear and disappear with as much facility, and with as little ceremony, as if they were puppets in a galantee shew. Whence has arisen all this degradation of kings, this subversion of empires, and those wonderful revolutions, not only in states, in laws, morals, and religion, but in our frame and turn of mind?—Will all these miracles, accomplished without supernatural aid, eventually produce happiness to mankind, or bind them in eternal servitude to despotism? It is an ænigma, and time alone can solve the riddle. Is our destiny fixed, or is the interval to be a state of probation? if the latter, what are our prospects?—If the former, what are the sufferings we are destined to endure?—Who dare contemplate the one, who can describe the other?—What has produced this dreadful state of things, this moral derangement of the universe, in which kings and kingdoms are held as cheap, and of as little account, as paper kites, or any other baby toy?—The war, that scourge of humanity, has produced all those terrific changes, and though an affliction so severe, and of this wonderful extent, has never before visited mankind, yet the evils resulting from a state of warfare, have always been of sufficient magnitude to have rendered it a question with honest men of plain common sense, how far it was consistent with the interests of society, or necessary to its preservation, that the power of declaring war should reside with any individual, whatever may be his wisdom or his discretion? Scourged by disasters into reflections of this kind, the legislature, in more enlightened times, perhaps in our own, may probably be induced to provide against the mischief of wanton warfare, at the pleasure of an individual, who, though invested with the sovereign authority, is exposed to the same passions, and liable to the same caprice, the same humours, and resentments as other men, without being subject to the same wholesome restraints, or the same responsibility. If ever the moment should arrive, when forbearance ceases to be a virtue, this power, so liable to be abused, conferred in times of ignorance and monkish superstition, and sacred only for its antiquity, will be erased from the code of civilized nations, and the happiness of millions cease to be a contingency on the pleasure of the sovereign or his ministers\*. The antiquity of a law or usage is not of

\* Vide Appendix (A)

itself a sufficient reason for its continuance. The immediate or possible utility of a law, is the only rational ground for its existence; and when the law or usage in question is investigated with that sobriety of temper, and discernment due to its importance—when every possible advantage resulting from the right of declaring war being invested in the sovereign shall be contrasted with the calamities known to have resulted from an abuse of it\*, the policy of revising this part of the king's prerogative will become evident, and the result of such an investigation may be foretold without consulting an astrologer. Farther advanced in the science of legislation, mankind may possibly marvel that an error of so mischievous a nature should have obtained the sanction of centuries.

It will be said, perhaps, that it is dangerous to attack the prerogatives of the crown. It may be so. — I well know the temper of those with whom I have to deal, and of the times I live in; but I also know, and history is my instructor, that it is not always prudent to defend them. An obstinate adherence to prerogative brought Charles the First to the block; James the Second having incurred the same penalty, would have received the same punishment, he would have found, as well as his father, that "*Divinity doth not hedge a king,*" if his fears, stimulated by his conscience, had not given celerity to his heels, and secured his retreat to the continent. If prerogatives had been immortal, our condition would be deplorable; Indeed hopeless. We should have had the felicity of living in times like those of Queen Elizabeth and Charles the Second, which Lord Grenville† so highly applauded in the House of Lords,

\* Instances in abundance can be drawn from the history of all nations to prove the disadvantages resulting from the right of declaring war being confided to the sovereign. Henry the Fourth of France, after gaining the battle of Ivry, might have put an end to the war immediately if he had marched to Paris, then ready to submit to his arms, but was prevented by the Marshal de Biron, who considering war as his harvest, prevented peace. His son afterwards might have closed the contest, by taking the general of the league, but the Marshal prevented him, declaring that such a step would send them back to plant cabbages at Biron. Louvois, the minister of Louis the Fourteenth, laid the palatinate in ashes, in consequence of a frivolous dispute with his master about the measurement of a window at Trignan. In our days France was finally decided to espouse the cause of America, not to distress a rival, but that the late queen, and the Count d'Artois, might more readily have supplies from the war fund. The necessity of considering in parliament the truth of alleged transgression, and the justice of appealing to the sword, before hostilities are resorted to, would perhaps put an end to wanton warfare or at least prevent their too frequently occurring.

† Until this period, the law required two competent witnesses to establish the guilt of high treason; and it is as little creditable to the parliament that became

when he had the temerity to alter the law of the land in cases of high treason.—With the star-chamber in existence, his lordship would have had no bad auxiliary to his arrogant and very arbitrary principles; and we might also have had the comfort of beholding another ruffian disgracing the judgment-seat, which Jefferies polluted in the seventeenth century.

I do not know what degree of criminality the ministers of the crown, in these days, may attach in their own minds to the proposed investigation of the policy, justice, and expediency of the prerogative in question undergoing a revision—but it will require something beyond their strength of talents to deny the right of investigation.

How far it may be expedient in the legislature, at this or at any other period, to retrench or withdraw the prerogative of peace and war from the crown, I am not competent to decide—but I contend, on the strong ground of public right, in which I am justified by innumerable precedents, in times less favourable to the freedom of enquiry, that the prerogatives of the crown are, and ought to be, as open to discussion as the other existing laws, and that there is nothing so sacred in their

an accomplice in the crime of taking one of those barriers against despotism from the people, as it was to the minister who dared to introduce a measure so dangerous to our liberties. Every statute that fences the person and property of the subject, should be as immutable as the law that ensures to the legislature obedience to its enactments—the one protects the very life being of the state—the other that of every individual, and the sanctity of both should be equally respected. It was, in fact, altering the law of the land; and but for the venality of the House of Commons in those days, his lordship would never have presumed to have attacked, in a manner so flagrant, one of our best securities for life and personal freedom.—If in the barbarous times of Edward the Third, when Liberty, chained to the foot of the throne, respiring only at the pleasure of the crown, contended with authority, and exacted from despotism that no British subject should be put to death, on a charge of high treason, but on the concurrent testimony of two sufficient evidences, what must we think of the principles and temper of that man, who has dared to rob, in our days, the subject of one half of this invaluable security, and expose his life to forfeiture, on the solitary testimony of an individual, who may possibly be suborned to swear away the life of innocence?

It would be pleasant enough to listen to the harangues of this indefatigable candidate for office, if we could conquer the contempt excited by the gross inconsistency of his public conduct. When in place, he would, to preserve it, have extended the prerogative of the crown until it snapped—Now that his lordship has no longer the direction of his majesty's councils, he would impose himself on the people as a friend to their liberties, and talks of respecting the laws of nations with as much ease and effrontery, as if he had never violated the one, nor infringed the other!—At one period, he would have sealed our mouths—he would now open them to their widest stretch, to roar him into office; but though we have been his victims—we will not be his dupes.

antique form and substance, as to preclude an enquiry into their necessity, or utility, by those who are the most likely to suffer from an abuse of them.—In the arbitrary reign of Edward the Third, when the whole almost of our polity, and even the course of justice, was regulated by the king's prerogative—when the power of the crown dispensed with the laws, exacted loans, enlarged the royal forests, levied exorbitant fines, extended the authority of the privy-council and star-chamber, and imprisoned members for freedom of speech in parliament—when even the sentence of the laws was cancelled, in criminal cases, by the king's warrant, and rapes, murder, and robbery, were authorised by royal authority—even in those times, when legislation was in its infancy, and the sovereign in a manner complete master of the lives and fortunes of his subjects, complaints and remonstrances were made against his prerogatives; if they were not absolutely renounced in that reign, if they were not retrenched by law, yet the exercise of them was so softened to the temper and interests of the people, as to render them less obnoxious and oppressive. It was in this reign that a distinction was made for the first time, between a proclamation by the king and his privy-council, and a law which had received the assent of the lords and commons.

If, at a period so barbarous and remote, the prerogatives of the crown were examined for the purpose of abolishing or retrenching them—if, when common sense dawned for the first time on our infant legislation, and pointing out the course it should pursue, exposed the injustice and absurdity of the arbitrary maxims of the prince—if, from that proud epoch in British history down to the present day, we find parliament occasionally lopping off, or cutting down, the prerogatives of the crown, in proportion as experience, our best wisdom, shewed their existence to be useless or pernicious, will the king's ministers, with the crown lawyers at their heels, have the indecency to tell us, that what was permitted under the fierce despotism of our Edwards, when the court, intoxicated with power, and licentious in the exercise of it, willed men to death at pleasure—shall be denied in the milder reign of George the Third, when the people, better instructed in their rights, and better able to defend them, have restricted the march of royalty, and prescribed bounds to those who are at all times well disposed to leap them? I think that, broken down as the spirit of the nation seems to be by domestic calamity; undermined as its public virtue has been of late years by the silent, and on that account ruinous operation of corruption, a resistance would be made in parliament, where alone



I wish resistance should be made, to an attempt so daring and iniquitous.—The prerogatives of the crown are subject to the same changes as all other institutions and regulations. They must be adapted to times and circumstances, whatever may be the individual wish of the sovereign, or of his ministers.

The prerogatives that existed in the fourteenth century are no longer suited to the manners of the present age. Those that marked the days of the Stuarts would ill accord with the actual situation of the country. It has been found, advisable in every succeeding reign, to retrench from the sovereign a portion of the prerogatives received from his predecessor. Even his present majesty, on his accession to the throne, was prudently advised to surrender a portion of this part of his inheritance, by declaring the judges independent of the crown, who had till then, it was pretended, held their places during pleasure \*.

After these instances of resumption on the part of the *original proprietors*, will those who are disposed to brand every enquiry into abuses as criminal and seditious, pretend that the prerogative of peace and war is more sacred than any of the rest of the *family*, or that it is better fenced from the profane touch of investigation, because it possesses greater latitude of mischief, and far stronger temptations to be abused, than its younger brethren? These are precisely the very reasons for calling the attention of parliament to this part of the regalia, and especially as almost the half of this extensive reign has been consumed in ruinous warfare, and ministers pretend, that the vast fund arising from the produce of sales daily captured, or detained property, before a declaration of war, belong of right to the king—that it is his personal property, and that he has a right to bestow it on whom, and in what proportions he pleases! It is due to the country—it is due to the acknowledged virtues of the sovereign to oppose an assumption so impudent and so dangerous; it is an assumption no less repugnant to the well-known feelings and personal character of his majesty, than it is to the constitutional rights of the subject, and being hostile in its very principle to public liberty, it must be opposed and refuted.

With respect to the personal property of the crown, strong doubts are entertained whether the king, legally speaking, has a

\* Junius says, that “the establishment of the judges in their places for life, was a concession merely to catch the people. It bore the appearance of a royal bounty, but had nothing real in it. The judges were already for life, excepting in the case of a *demise*; and that the bill only provides that it shall not be in the power of the King’s successor to remove them. At the best, therefore, it is only a legacy, not a gift, on the part of his present Majesty, since for himself he gives up nothing.”

Vol. II. p. 288. Genuine edition.

right to any property, or even to accumulate treasure, except for the purposes of useful and legitimate public expenditure—that such a right, vested in any sovereign, might eventually prove dangerous to the liberties of the people, will not be denied.

That such a right should be recognised in a limited monarchy, cannot well be insisted upon by any man fairly entitled to reside on the outside of Bedlam or of Newgate, because such a right, coupled with the right of declaring war, leaves the nation without any other security for its repose, for its best interests, and for its liberties, than the integrity and discretion of the Prince; but though the enlightened wisdom of his present majesty is a sufficient security for his faithful observance of that moderation and love of justice which he has hitherto displayed through life—although we have nothing to apprehend from his immediate successor, yet our rights are too valuable to be held on no other security than a life-interest.—A tenure so fragile and precarious is happily unknown within this sea-girt isle; and as the virtues are not hereditary, like the diadem, it becomes us to guard against contingencies, and on no account to leave the honor and prosperity of the country, with the freedom and happiness of the people, at the mercy of an individual.

The nature and extent of the danger to be apprehended from the assumed right of the crown, to appropriate to itself the droits of admiralty, possessing as it does, in virtue of one of its present prerogatives, the right of declaring war, will be best explained when the amount and application of those droits, from 1774, to the present time, are submitted to the legislature. It is a question involving in it matter of far greater moment than the furnishing the king with the means of performing acts of liberality to individuals. It is not whether the duke of York or duke of Cumberland are deserving of the donations they have received—perhaps they were not, considering the lucrative appointments conferred on the former, and the recent addition of six thousand a year most improvidently bestowed by the bounty of Parliament on the latter—it is whether a king of England ought to have a fund at his absolute disposal, which he can at any time swell to an indefinite amount, by issuing orders to seize on the property of neutral powers, under one of those pretexts which the subtlety of diplomacy can readily fabricate to justify wanton aggression.

It will be argued, that the House of Commons holding the

public purse, is a sufficient counterpoise to the prerogative of declaring war, and that though the king can commence hostilities, he cannot continue them, unless furnished with the means by Parliament. There is certainly in this legislative restriction, something like a check, or security against an abuse of a prerogative; the prerogative, however, stands in need of revision, whatever may have been the vigilance with which parliament has superintended the public expenditure. The rigid economy, bordering upon parsimony, invariably observed, in granting supplies, and the exemplary fidelity with which it has on all occasions discharged its various trusts, may be urged as proofs of its corrective powers, if the avarice or indiscretion of the crown had ever rendered an interference necessary. Thus doubly fortified against wanton warfare, by the wisdom of the sovereign, and by the integrity of Parliament, we have nothing to fear in the present reign from an abuse of the prerogative in question; but assuming it as a fact, not absolutely beyond the reach of possibility, that the nation, at some future period, and under less favourable auspices, should have the misfortune of being governed by a prince not quite so wise, so clement, and so just; that it should be disgraced by a parliament less faithful to its obligations, less tenacious of its honour and its independance, than the parliament in our days—let us suppose (for foresight is an appendage of wisdom, and it behoves us to guard against what can happen) that the country laboured under the misfortune of having a sovereign, whom a vicious education, operating on a mind not so happily gifted as the one under which we have the felicity to live, had rendered despotic and avaricious, with sense enough to understand the legal impediments opposed to his gratifications, with cunning enough to conceal his designs against liberty and the national wealth, by a scrupulous attention to forms, and with an exterior that would impose upon discernment itself;—in addition to a calamity so great, let us suppose the yet greater calamity, (the greatest that can befall a free people) that the country was cursed with an house of commons notorious for its venality, that the peers, regardless of that dignity which is the better part of their nobility, caballed for power, while a rabble of traders, and adventurers of all descriptions, calling themselves our representatives, caballed for places, and as misery never comes alone, let us, pursuing the line of probability, suppose that the sovereign, without mental endowments, or attainments worthy of royalty, and with no other pretensions to the high office he fills, than merely the right of succession, had the dexterity to place himself at the

head of a little faction of his own selecting, devoted to his will, president of a pandemonium of his own, or that he had the misfortune to fall into the hands of a junto, daring enough to govern the country in his name; under such distressing circumstances, against which we are happily fenced for the present, what would be our security against an abuse of the prerogative which gives to the sovereign the right of declaring war—and especially if the pretensions lately advanced should have acquired the force of law, that all captures made previous to a public declaration of hostilities (being the distinction between prizes and droits of admiralty) belonged of right to the king, and was the *private* property of the sovereign? The enormous wealth which might be instantly acquired by an unexpected seizure of neutral ships, navigating the ocean on the faith of existing treaties, is a temptation to aggression, which a sordid and despotic mind would not resist, and that a weak one, ill advised, could not.

It is therefore incumbent on parliament, before pretensions so illegal, and pregnant with much serious mischief to the honour, the interests, and liberties of the country, are suffered to acquire strength from usage, to rebut the assumption, and to call upon the ministers of the crown for an account of the monies paid into the hands of the register \* of the admiralty, under the name of admiralty droits, between the 1st of January 1774, and the present time, with an account of the applications of the different sums which have been drawn in the interval from that newly instituted fund.—An account of the gross amount paid into this secret ministerial reservoir of enormous gain, will enable the country to estimate, with tolerable accuracy, the value of that branch of the prerogative, which gives to the sovereign the right of declaring war:—a knowledge of the uses to which the fund arising from the exercise of this prerogative have been applied since 1775, will enable the country to decide on the wisdom of the application; but either will establish the propriety, as well as the right of parliament, to devote that to public purposes, which ministers have very imprudently, not to say unconstitutionally and criminally, asserted was the king's private property.—No such right can exist in the crown—its existence would be incompatible with

\* This gentleman (Lord Arden) I believe is entitled to a penny in the pound on all proceeds paid to our admiralty court, prizes as well as droits of Admiralty—and if this snug sinecure is held at the pleasure of the crown, it would to a certainty fix a man of less rectitude than its present possessor, to remain a fixture with every administration, nailed to the treasury like “a bad shilling on a tradesman's counter.”

that of our liberties; its very assumption is treason against the constitution; and least of all should the crown be allowed to claim such a source of wealth as its private property, because it would excite suspicions in the public mind, involving in their result the loss of that, which will ever be deemed of far less value than character, in the estimation of a monarch fully alive to what he owes to himself, his family, and the nation. It may not, however, be improper to state, that the droits of admiralty were never considerable until the American war. It was at that unfortunate period that they appear for the first time to have excited the cupidity of ministers, by the magnitude of their amount; and as all captures became droits of admiralty, until that ruthless contest assumed the name and character of war, their produce was enormous. At that epoch, all captures became prizes, and an act was passed assigning them to the king, for the understood purpose of their being given to the captors in such proportions as his majesty should prescribe. But as to the droits of admiralty, if my recollection is correct, seven-eighths of the net proceeds were, on the suggestion of the late Lord Sandwich, given in general to the captors; the remainder was reserved, subject to the disposal of the crown by treasury warrant, to reward great and meritorious public services. It was not at that time in the contemplation of ministers to convert this accumulation of public wealth into a fund for the private uses of the king, nor was it in the commencement considered as his majesty's private property; but when the reserved eighth part had swelled to an amount that startled ministers as to the mode of disposing of this unexpected acquisition of treasure, the idea of appropriating it to great and meritorious public services, instantly gave way to considerations not quite so legitimate and patriotic; and no small portion of it will appear to have been bestowed for services not very prudent to avow. It may not be easy, perhaps, at this distance, to ascertain the names of all the parties who have been benefited from this fund, without having that kind of claim which could alone entitle them to remuneration or reward—nor is it necessary to enquire, as from the present temper of the country, the prerogative which has given life and stamina to this fund, must undergo a revision, and be adapted, as prerogatives of the crown have heretofore been, and as they ever ought to be, to times and circumstances.—Fifteen years of merciless warfare, wantonly commenced, and as wantonly pursued, until the country, reduced in power and resources, is now contending for its last stake, must convince parliament of the necessity, if not of wrest-

ing from the hands of ministers, at least of modifying an authority which has been shamefully abused, and which they seem disposed to convert into a species of ways and means not very constitutional, and which, under a reign less virtuous than the present, would in some sort render the crown independent of the controul of parliament, and place us entirely at its mercy.

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### *Appendix I.*

THE enormous and dangerous increase of patronage to the crown, has rendered every department of state an object, not of laudable ambition, but of cupidity, to a very motley groupe, whose pretensions to office have been founded on any thing than a capacity and rectitude adapted to high official trust. The British cabinet, of late years, has borne a far stronger resemblance to a stage for prize-fighters and wrestlers, than to an assembly of dignified statesmen, discussing the important concerns of a nation, and devoting their time and best thoughts to the interests, the security, and happiness of millions. Intent only on the means of preserving what they have obtained by cabal, their time is consumed in contending with rival candidates for power, or combating the underhand tricks and intrigues of their own associates, eager to trip up each other's heels, and supplant them in the royal favour. Without union—without cordiality, or even personal esteem for each other; held together by no other tie than the precarious one of self-interests; liable to change with times and circumstances, and without the assured stability of an hour, what other result can rationally be expected, but the wretched one which we behold? Such a conduct, no less pitiful than mischievous, is ill calculated to resist the daring projects of a man; whose genius, leagued with fortune, bears down all obstacles, and triumphs over impossibilities:—such a conduct (and we have scarcely seen any thing else for nearly half a century), prevents that combination of talents, and that unanimity which in our present situation can alone save us from destruction:—it leads to anarchy, and anarchy leads to despotism. It is really full time, that all those rival pretensions—all those crossings and jockey tricks should cease, and that men of known honour and abilities only, should be employed, as they alone can benefit or save the

country. Whenever the principles of the race-ground become interwoven with the manners of the court, the consequences to the people must be fatal. They are the first victims of the profligacy that destroys them, while the authors of their calamity will skulk, like cowards, from the tempest they have raised, and in the event of a change in the dynasty, be as ready to bend their supple knee to Bonaparte, as they were to George the Third. It is these unworthy pursuits, the vice of little minds, that has suggested the idea to a few bold and criminal men to put, for a time, the *constitution into keeping*. That it has been badly kept for nearly half a century, is evident from the state of the empire, compared to what it was at the death of George the Second. But if it is meant by this little junto to prefer a standing army to septennial parliaments:—if this is the kind of safeguard in view, for the preservation of what our ancestors would have perished rather than have resigned to such guardianship, I trust there is yet public virtue enough in the country to shame the contrivers of such a project into a renunciation of the design, or spirit enough to trample them under foot, should they dare attempt to realise it. Whatever may be the delapidations from time, and from the wretched administration of Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville, the legitimate guardians of the constitution are yet capable of repairing it; at all events, I never shall be persuaded that the constitution will be in better keeping with his royal highness the Duke of York and his justices of peace with fixed bayonets, than it is in the parliament; where our ancestors placed it; where the king found it when he came to the throne, and where it shall remain, if the nation has any fellow feeling with myself on the subject.

In the year 1795, a gentleman\*, whose education must have

\* It is indecent to employ writers to insult common sense, and mislead the public judgment on matters where their interests require the most correct information; and this indecency is aggravated when people of this description are quartered on the public purse, not as paupers for a mere maintenance, from motives of compassion, but as persons entitled to munificent remuneration for services rendered to their country. One of them, on whose merits every man is well qualified to pronounce, has a *plurality* of offices—he is

Chief of the Alien-office, with a salary of	£.500 per ann.
He has also been quartered on Messrs. Eyre and Strahan, king's patent printers, for a third of their valuable patent	1500
— which he sold, it is said, for a sum something under £.10,000, together with an annuity not less than	

To which he hopes, by the intervention of Chancery, to add another	1500.
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£.3,500

better instructed him in the history of the English constitution, and whose pride should have rendered him superior to the baseness of prostituting his talents, published a pamphlet, in which he had the effrontery to assert, that "*Parliaments owed their existence to the bounty of the sovereign, and that the king could legally carry on the government of the country without them.*" This pamphlet, as defective in argument as it was atrocious in design, was, however, defended in the house of commons, at the time, by a member of the present cabinet†, whose father is known to be the patron of the author, and to have had him most liberally rewarded, by a plurality of lucrative employments, for a production which, in the reign of George the First or George the Second, would have consigned the writer, as he deserved, to the pillory or the whipping-post; but in these more merciful days, the author has been rewarded, not punished.

The doctrine maintained by this orthodox preacher of the worst species of sedition, is to be enforced, we are told, in a manner that will effectually prove the divinity of the text. The "suspension of the constitution," it is said, is to be the first article in the new creed; while faith, no longer a beneficent donation from heaven, is to be enforced by the sword. If it should be attempted to render this new catholicism, so perfectly worthy of its eldest sister at Rome, the political religion of the country, I trust there will be found Martin Luthers and Calvins enough to oppose its taking root. Brought up in the primitive simplicity of the *old church*, and fully convinced of its sanctity and truth, I must reject all tenets that run counter to the doc-

He is law clerk to the Board of Trade, the salary of which, and the emoluments, are well known to Lord Liverpool, and his son Lord Hawkesbury, both of whom it is necessary to recommend, for *divers good causes*, to the notice of the committee of finance.

Another indefatigable writer in support of what Hypocrisy calls the altar and the throne, giving precedence, as in duty bound, to the church—has also been most profusely rewarded; and for his accommodation, the commission for the sale of Dutch prizes has been kept open long after the captured property has been sold. If the talents of these men, on whom such large public rewards have been bestowed, had been of a superlative kind, or if their very humble talents had been usefully employed, Liberality might have pardoned an excess of generosity in favour of genius; but the gentlemen disclaim all such pretensions—their characters being fully known, they write with the certainty of not being read; but as they are paid for writing, and paid well, their views extend no farther—the pride of the author is as little wounded, in having their productions sold for waste paper, as their pride of manhood is hurt in being despised for their venality and prostitution. It is, however, lamentable to reflect, that their patrons should be allowed to squander the public money on such men, for the sole purpose of keeping up a mischievous delusion, and blinding the public mind to the real state and future prospects of the country.

† Lord Hawkesbury.



trines in which I have been educated. I have no great passion for martyrdom, either for forms of government, or forms of religion, but I shall certainly live and die in the firm belief, that the cause for which Sidney shed his blood on a scaffold, and Hampden in the field, is worth dying for.

### *Appendix K.*

THERE seems a something worse than an indifference to prevail in this country of late years, towards other nations, and even on the subject of national rights; and this selfishness of disposition, so foreign to our former principles and character, seems to gain ground so rapidly amongst us, that if it were possible for any stretch of arbitrary power to be exercised against the people of Kent, it may fairly be questioned, whether the injuries inflicted in that county would excite a sensation in Surry, either of resentment or of pity. Formerly we had a common feeling, not only as to what related to public, but even to private wrongs. The admirable maxim by which Solon\* endeavoured to banish injustice from the world, was universally felt amongst us, and oppression, from whatever quarter it came, whether from the ministers of the crown, or from a private individual, armed all men in the defence of virtue, as it were, and limits were instantly prescribed to the career of guilt. Associations were formed in those days, and they are yet within the reach of memory, in defence of public liberty; our chartered rights had champions ready to defend them; an attack upon the liberty of the press was sacrilege; an attempt to alter the law of the land, and to lessen our securities for life and property would have been punished with death; the indignation of the country, roused by so flagrant an act of atrocity, would have spurned the tedious forms of law, as incompatible even with its own preservation, and taken just, though irregular, vengeance, on the men who would have dared to defile with their unhallowed hands, the statutes of high treason, enacted for the defence of the subject, even in the tyrannical days of Edward the Third.

\* To teach all to feel the injuries done to each.

With this indifference towards each other, and for the preservation of those laws which protected us against the arbitrary encroachments of the crown, it can no longer be matter of surprize, that we should be insensible to the injuries, and deaf to the representations of the people of Ireland, too far removed from us to behold their oppressions—too inattentive to our own rights to feel any interest for those of others, their sufferings are regarded as imaginary, and their complaints as disaffection,—penal statutes are multiplied to diminish the one, and the military called in to silence the other. In this state of things, fictitious grievances mix with well founded remonstrances. Faction assumes the robe of patriotism—discontents increase with the means employed to suppress them. The government, and the well-intentioned, become alike perplexed, and the country lies itself in a dilemma from which wisdom itself would be puzzled to extricate it. This is the actual state of Ireland, brought on by a system radically vicious, aggravated and rendered more so by the venality of men who made a practice of selling the country in the gross to the minister of the day. A peasantry in full health, every man a Hercules, slothful, not from disposition, but discouragements, Sloth leading them to distress, and distress to crime, Crime becomes embodied, as it were, and sets justice and the laws at defiance.—Distraction in our public councils, because they are composed of men with discordant views, held together by no common principle of action, no sense of public virtue or private honour; without shame and without talents testing their claims to public employment on certificates of capacity, furnished by venal journalists, hired to mislead and corrupt the public mind; varying their connections, their friendships and then principles, as their interests require; united to-day, and at variance to-morrow, clamorous to command, without knowing how to obey; presenting in their temporary but precarious adhesion, something like a firm and compact phalanx this week, the next a disbanded cohort; each with rival pretensions, without a leader, without union or discipline, ready to enlist under any captain who will share with them the spoils, and as willing to fight against each other as against the common enemy. Is the picture surcharged or too highly coloured? Look at the state of parties, and acknowledge your error; while you lament the hapless condition of your country, fallen into the hands of men who are neither more nor less than a miserable assemblage of political adventurers—a pye-bald mixture—some without names, or with nomenclatures that effrontery itself would blush to own; allured by the enormous and overgrown patronage of the crown, as wasps are to the hive for its honey, their object, like that of the

insects they resemble, is plunder. Has this increase of patronage fortified the throne? No. It has engendered factions without end, and these factions, all preying upon what they pretend to support, with the means of subverting what they affect to idolize, the instant they chuse to unite.

England having for centuries enjoyed the exclusive monopoly of this patronage, has awakened pretensions in Ireland to a share of those sweets from which she has been most pertinaciously excluded; these pretensions are made with more boldness than discretion. They are advanced by a few who would deserve little notice, but that they are supported by a considerable part of the population, who, without understanding the purposes for which they are instructed to bellow, and with as little prospect of being permitted to share what without their aid can never be obtained, they join in the cry of their leader, and clamour for catholic emancipation;—abstractedly speaking, the catholics have a right to what they demand, but policy may find it expedient, for the moment, to oppose a bar to the claim of right, and it is possible that the happiness even of those who urge their right may be materially injured by an admission of the claim; in that case, wisdom will prefer expediency to right, and suspend, without relinquishing, a pretension which cannot be disputed.

Three-fourths of the population of Ireland are catholics, and if the consequences of an admission of their claims, were not to extend across St. George's channel, it would be something worse than injustice to refuse them; although to something more than three-fourths of the Irish catholics, emancipation would be no boon, and if it were, those who make use of their aid to obtain it for their own exclusive use, would take good care not to share it with any one else. To the one it might prove a profitable, not a substantial good. To the other it would not amount even to the ornament of a feather in their caps. This, however, is not the consideration. It is not very easy to reason men out of their opinions; neither can their opinions be stabbed by the bayonet. Without being tangible, they take a firm hold on the mind, and the hold can only be relinquished by the danger of persisting in it being made evident. This would not be difficult in the present instance, if the catholics in Ireland, who direct the minds of their countrymen, forgetting for the moment their own personal interests, would reflect on the probable consequences of acceding to their wishes, in this country, not yet ripe for concessions which it is thought would lead to the subversion of the established church, and to all that is venerable and valuable in our civil establishments. How far such apprehensions

are well or ill founded is foreign to the present purpose; it is sufficient that they exist, and surely it is not for the honour or advantage of those who are for pressing catholic emancipation on government, that parliament should be bullied into a measure repugnant to the principles, prejudices, and habits of something more than nine-tenths of the population of the country, without including Scotland, where the catholic religion is very little known and practised, and certainly not respected.

If much is due to Irish, something is also due to English prejudice; what is demanded by the former could do it no essential good at this moment.—The moon illumines, but does not vivify: its rays emit no heat. Catholic emancipation, in the present state of the two countries, has a quality the less—it would not even illumine those who are taught to believe it would vivify. To throw this country into a ferment for the purpose of extinguishing prejudices in Ireland, does not seem a very equitable expectation: Whatever seriously affects England, must also affect Ireland; and the justice of the thing entirely out of the question, it becomes a matter of prudential consideration for the latter, how far it may be prudent under all the circumstances of the case, to persevere, at least during the present reign, in a claim to which twelve million of people are decidedly averse. It may be inexpedient—it may even be hazardous, to urge a claim as visibly just as the splendor of the sun at noon day. Hampden was perfectly justifiable in resisting ship money in the days of Charles the First; but if he had lived under the ferocious dominion of Henry the Eighth, and his patriotism had stimulated him to a similar display of public virtue, he would have perished as a rebel, without accomplishing the good he obtained for his country at a later period.

In the great concerns of life men should be governed by circumstances.—The concessions granted to the catholics in Ireland, in the present reign, would have occasioned a civil war in both nations, had they been attempted in that of George the Second; and what may be improper or dangerous to yield, in that of George the Third, may become very practicable, safe, and honourable in that of George the Fourth. A little discretion on the part of the Irish catholics, and discretion, in the present instance, is justice as well as wisdom, would tend very much to strengthen their pretensions to the concessions they require:—the catholic mind in Ireland, better instructed in the duties of a citizen, disclaims at present the interference of the pope in matters of civil government; let the protestant mind in England have sufficient experience of the sincerity of this judicious change, and feel that it has nothing to apprehend in removing those

barriers which were thought essential to the preservation of its civil and ecclesiastical rights.—A decent forbearance on the part of Ireland from pressing claims ill adapted to the circumstances of the times, would tend to the condensing the force of the empire into one compact impenetrable mass, forming an insurmountable barrier to any force the enemy of both countries could bring against either; while a rash perseverance in a matter obviously inexpedient if not hazardous, might at this moment involve both nations in one common ruin, without obtaining the object in view, or leaving any thing else to its misguided champions than the painful task of lamenting the sad consequences of their insatiation.—But though all which the catholics covet cannot yet be granted with safety, much may be accorded to them, and of a nature to make them sensible of the value of British dominion, and that would attach them to government by a much better principle than fear. It is a proposition which I hazard at a venture, from the justice on which it is evidently founded—release the laity from the necessity of that shameful double tax levied on them for the maintenance of their own clergy, and those of the established church—perhaps an extension of the liberality, by erecting a dwelling for each priest contiguous to his respective chapel, perhaps erecting of chapels would be also acceptable, and as no reasonable objection could be made to the crown's having the nomination to all vacant catholic benefices, it might, from that intercourse with the clergy of Rome, become better acquainted with their loyalty, and better enabled to distinguish and reward desert. The scanty pittance which the priest receives, though a poor recompence for the laborious duties he performs, is however a considerable drawback on the little the poor peasant can allot from his industry. Spare his pocket by making a liberal provision for his pastoral guide, and while you fix his loyalty and his gratitude by your goodness, you flatter the prejudices nearest his heart, by taking under your protection the man to whom he piously looks up as the representative of his Maker on earth, and he becomes bound to you by a far stronger tie than any your statute books afford, or that even the transcendent wisdom of the late Chancellor Redesdale\* could

\* The justice of this compliment to the enlightened understanding of his lordship, will be fully felt on a reference to his correspondence with Lord Fingal in 1803; of his liberality and humanity, no doubt can be entertained, when the subjoined undated letter of O'Neill is read by those who are of opinion that it insults as an argument. If my memory is correct, his Lordship was the hired advocate of the Roman Catholics for the repeal of the penal statutes, which excited the insurrection in 1780.—Perhaps Lord Redesdale has forgotten the sums he received, and, I believe, presents of plate from the Catholics in those days—for the zeal he shewed in their behalf.—It is not very civil to persecute his friends and benefactors.

devise. It is the interest of England to conciliate the affections of the people of Ireland—the means are in her power—she must be just—she must be liberal—the oppressions of ages call for the one; the distresses of a wretched population imperiously demand the other. Let England set an example of justice, and Ireland will prove herself grateful; but the former will do well to remember, that extorted justice loses all its merit. The force that exacts the reluctant concession, holds the place of virtue, and disdains the gift that neither fraud nor violence could any longer withhold. Ireland may yet be saved, and the troops, the only security we have at present for her loyalty, may be employed with effect against the enemy. Delay the justice required, and Ireland instead of being an integral part of the British empire, will be degraded to the condition of an out-post, or at most a frontier town, with a strong garrison, maintained at the joint expence of both nations for the double purpose of resisting a foreign enemy, and keeping the inhabitants in eternal subjection; who, ripe for revolt, will look forward with certainty to the moment when time and events will enable them to subvert a government, whose legitimacy they deny. Right and Expediency do not always travel arm in arm; the latter frequently claims precedency of the former, and the ends of justice are sometimes best answered and more easily accomplished by the concession; Lord Grenville, who is a most excellent logician whenever it suits his purpose to reason correctly, would have felt this truth the 11th inst. if his lordship had not had views not very closely connected with the subject he brought before parliament.—Some men are wonderfully adroit in availing themselves of popular clamour to answer their particular purposes—but they are not always equally successful. Lord George Gordon convulsed the metropolis, and in some sort the whole kingdom, by his cry that the protestant church was in danger—Fanaticism has lately attempted to revive the same cry—and Lord Grenville appears to have borrowed, for the moment, the use of the catholic petition for much the same purpose as Mr. Pitt borrowed reform in parliament.

*"Ireland is divided into 2500 parishes, melted down into 1200 benefices, on which there are only 1000 churches—the 1200 beneficed clergymen of these 2500 parishes, where are they? one-third of them are not resident;—absentees from their duties—mortmainers upon the land!—The catholic priest—the dissenting minister—the methodist preacher, are they supine or ABSENT? Are they without proselytes and converts? without interest or influence with the people?—A friend to religion, I am an enemy to salaried idleness.*

*To 2500 parishes I would have 2500 parsons—no curates at fifty—nor absentees at two thousand pounds a year. The establishment which laymen are invoked to defend; churchmen should support by their presence—dignify by their piety—and extend by their example\*.*" In this short, but faithful, sketch of the ecclesiastical state of Ireland, the people of this country may be enabled to judge of those complaints which have, with equal impolicy and injustice, been stigmatised as unreasonable demands, resulting from a general spirit of disaffection, resolved upon advancing claims on the generosity of this country, in proportion as it shews a disposition to be generous and indulgent. — The number of middle men, between the landlords in fee and the cultivators, is another serious evil, and especially as in many instances there is a nest of these nuisances, one under another, like so many pill-boxes;—these men are no less injurious to the interests of the real proprietor, than they are mischievous to the poor, laborious tenant; they retard agricultural improvements, while they aggravate affliction by their oppressions. This is an evil unknown in this country, and not likely to excite much feeling for those who are the victims of it;—but when these oppressions are seriously reflected upon—when gentlemen will give facts the preference to prejudices, and allow their better sense to discuss questions of such wide and general interest with feelings of compassion, it is fair to suppose, they will reason with better temper on the conduct of an entire people, who, notwithstanding the state of debasement in which a mistaken policy has unfortunately kept them for ages, are not absolutely ignorant, that they are entitled in common with ourselves to the rights of humanity, and that resistance becomes lawful the very instant those rights are denied or evaded.—When the subjoined documents are read with the attention due to their importance, every man will apply the barbarity they record to himself—he will make the case of Mr. Dodd, of Shaw, and of O'Neil †, his own:—they are, in fact, arguments ad hominem, and belong no less to a native of England, than to a native of Ireland.—Atrocious, however, as they are, they form but a small portion of the many outrages committed with as little provocation, and accompanied by circumstances yet more flagitious, if possible, than those which marked the hard and unmerited lot of the people in question.—Let any man in this country, whose loyalty approaches even to passive obedience and non-resistance, say, whether his submission, or even his

*\* Vide a sketch of the state of Ireland—past and present.*

*† Vide Additional Appendix (c).*

servility, would not suffer an abatement, and feel an inclination to revolt, if, after having been so unjustly, so malignantly, and so unmercifully scourged\*, he had found his complaints treated with mockery, and his supplications for redress insolently spurned by the government bound to protect him, in return for his liberal contributions to its support, and for the loyalty he had invariably shewn in his conduct and professions?

### Appendix L.

PREVIOUS to the 4th of January, 1793. Mr. Chauvelin received instructions from his government, to enquire of Lord Grenville, if the subjects of France were included in the alien bill. If they were, he was to say, that the treaty of commerce was in that case, at an end. If the French were not included, he was to desire Lord Grenville to fix a day for his (Mr. Chauvelin) being presented at court, as the minister of the French republic.

The answer of Lord Grenville was laconic and pert. Mr. Chauvelin had the mortification to have his paper returned "*as inadmissible, his character in this country being null.*" He felt the incivility, and was well aware of the impression the imprudence of his Lordship would make at Paris; but extremely desirous of avoiding war, and anxious to inspire both nations with a mutual confidence in each other's friendship, he offered to put his diplomatic character aside. In consequence of this most temperate conduct, and which offers a striking contrast to the unwarrantable proceedings of Lord Grenville, Mr. Chauvelin requested me to make the following communication to Mr. Pitt. I took the written message as desired immediately. The answer was, that he could have no communication with any of the agents of the persons exercising the power of government in France, and I was desired not to make myself the channel of any such communication.—This prohibition was repeated to me afterwards on Mr. Maret's second arrival in England, when I made another effort to prevent the effusion of blood.

"M. Chauvelin affligé de voir la guerre prête à éclater entre la France et l'Angleterre, et désirant très sincèrement d'écarter, autant qu'il est en lui, un fléau aussi terrible, prendrait sur lui de voir Mr. Pitt, en particulier dans l'espoir qu'en remplissant l'in-

\* Vide Additional Appendix (c).



tervalle qui s'écoulera entre la réponse de Lord Grenville, et les déterminations ultérieures du conseil exécutif de France, par une communication quelconque on renouvellerait plus facilement une négociation qui semble être rompue malheureusement pour le moment."

Portman-Square, 6 Janv. 1793.

*Translation of Mr. Chauvelin's message delivered to Mr. Pitt, by Mr. Miles.*

Jan. 6th, 1793.

"Mr. Chauvelin, afflicted to behold the war ready to break out between France and England, and sincerely anxious to prevent so terrible a misfortune to both nations, by every means in his power, will take upon himself the responsibility of seeing as a private person Mr. Pitt, in the hope, that in the interval of time necessary to know the ultimate determination of the executive council to the answer of Lord Grenville, a channel of communication being kept open, a negociation, which seems to have been unfortunately interrupted for the moment, may be the more easily resumed."

*To the Right Honourable William Pitt.*

Cleveland-row, St. James's,

Sir,

Dec. 14th, 1792.

The inclosed is from Mr. Maret, who has just received a dispatch from Paris, which I have read; forgive me, sir, if I again make an offer of my service to go to Paris, as I cannot but entertain great hopes, that on a personal explanation with Le Brun, in conjunction with Mr. Maret, that the calamities of war may be avoided.

W. A. MILES.

No answer.—I desired the letter to be returned, with several others, but never received them.—I wrote to the private secretary, desiring he would send them back to me, but they were not to be found, and he advised me to keep copies in future, as he could not answer for their being returned.

Paris, le Dec. 1792, l'an 1<sup>er</sup> de la M. P.

J'espérois comme vous être depuis longtemps à Londres, et y retourner par une branche d'olivier, mais des circonstances imprévues, peut-être des opinions politiques, me retiennent encore à Paris. J'en suis affligé, c'est à mon ami que je le dis, et la peine morale que j'en éprouve n'est assurément pas moindre que la votre—le sentiment douloureux, que vous avez éprouvé par

cette dépêche du 14. Je l'ai partagée—je ne sens rien froidement, je n'entreprends rien sans zèle—J'aime votre pays, je chers le mien, j'eusse souhaité les rapprocher par dessus tout au monde et suis encore à comprendre ce qui les éloigne, car toutes les raisons politiques, et morales, semblent concourir à la réussite de mon projet cheri \*—vingt fois je voudrais être encore au 14<sup>ème</sup> siècle pour croire que c'est quelque enchantement, car il répugne à mon ame de croire au 18<sup>ème</sup> que c'étoit l'intérêt particulier ou l'in-souciance. Je suis toujours à vous.

*à Monsieur Miles.*

*Translation.*

*Secretary of State's Office, Foreign Affairs.*

*Paris, 21st Dec. 1792.*

I really expected, as well as yourself, to have returned to London with the olive branch, but unforeseen circumstances, or perhaps political motives, detain me yet here.—It afflicts me much, and it is to you, my dear friend, that I confess the grief—it occasions me, and which you certainly must feel as well as myself.—Be assured, that I felt as much hurt as yourself, at the dispatch of the 14th inst.—Indifference does not mark my character, and I never engage but with zeal in any enterprise.—I love your country; I am attached to my own;—and above all things, I wished the union of the two nations. I am yet to learn what prevents a union which every reason, moral and political, appears to recommend, and to ensure success to my favourite object. I would persuade myself that it is the 14th century, and not the 18th in which I live, in order to believe that all this interruption is the effect of enchantment, for it distresses me to attribute it to particular interests, or to indifference.

*Mr. Miles, London.*

*I am, ever your's.*

*From a confidential agent of the French executive Council, and who was appointed secretary of legation after Mr. Chauvelin's arrival.*

*Paris, 31st Dec. 1792.*

Amongst the many obstacles thrown in the way of accommodation, was that of requiring France to make peace with the emperor—and this obstacle produced a long letter from the foreign department in Paris, of which the following is an extract:—

“ Vous avez une bien étrange idée de la situation de ce pays, si vous croyez qu'il soit obligé de souscrire à des conditions qu'on pourroit exiger.—Nous ferons des conditions à nos ennemis ”

\* An alliance between France and England.

vaincus, et n'en recevons de personne—quel intérêt peut donc avoir la Grande Bretagne à ce que nous fassions la paix avec nos ennemis actuels? et de quel droit peut elle l'exiger—nous ne ferons jamais la guerre sur des prétextes specieux, mais quand nous la ferons, elle est terrible—nous voulons la paix avec nos voisins, surtout avec vous que nous aimons mieux que toute autre nation. Je joins ici mes efforts aux vôtres pour réunir nos pays, mais on fait chez vous de rudes efforts pour les éloigner—que signifient les insolentes epithets que Mons. Burke distribue à toute la nation Françoisse? Croit on ne pas aliéner les esprits par ces appellations qui ne siéeroient même pas dans la bouche d'un insensé. Je déteste, je méprise beaucoup de choses de notre nouveau gouvernement—mais aussi je hais cent fois plus l'avilissant orgueil de nos émigrés, et de deux maux je choisis le moins grand (la république). Croyez vous que l'on puisse voir ici avec plaisir la protection ouverte que l'on donne à ces hommes d'orgueil et de sang, qui voudroient porter le fer et la flamme dans leur patrie? la paix de nos deux pays tient à un fil, aussi que le repos de l'Europe. Si nous nous écartons toujours; si votre ministère refuse tout rapprochement, je tremble que les conséquences n'en soient la guerre. Peut-être la desire-t-il? ne nous decourageons pourtant pas, je tâche de ménager les esprits ici, car je ne voudrois pas la guerre mais il faudroit que votre ministre changeât d'attitude, qu'il fut franc, et communicatif.

*Translation.*

*Office of Secretary of State—Foreign Department.*

Paris, 31st Dec. 1792.

You have a strange idea of this country, if you think she is obliged to comply with any of the conditions that may be offered to her.

To the vanquished we accord conditions, but receive none. What is it to Great Britain, whether we make peace with our present enemies or not? And by what right can she exact it? We never declare war upon trifling pretences, but when we do, it is terrible. We wish for peace with our neighbours, especially with you, whom we love better than any other nation—my efforts are employed as well as yours, to unite the two countries, but your government does every thing in its power to prevent it. What is the meaning of those impertinent epithets, that Mr. Burke bestows indiscriminately on the French nation? Do you think that men's minds will be fired by opprobrious appellations which would disgrace the mouth of a madman? I detest many things of our new government, but I hold in much greater

detestation the pride and insolence of our emigrants; of twb evils, I choose the lesser (the republic). Do you imagine, we can behold with indifference the open protection given to those haughty and sanguinary men, who would carry fire and sword into their country? The peace of the two nations, and consequently of Europe, certainly hangs by a thread—but if we avoid all amicable explanation, if your minister will not preserve a good understanding, I am afraid that war is inevitable; perhaps he desires it! Do not, however, let us be discouraged. I am endeavouring to direct the public mind here, for I do not wish for war, but it is necessary that your minister changes his attitude, and that he is open and communicative.

*Postscript from Mr. Maret to Mr. Miles.*

5th Jan. 1793.

Le Brun me charge de vous témoigner ses regrets de ce qu'il est obligé de deférer encore le plaisir de vous écrire—il vous prie donc de ne pas douter de tous ses sentimens pour vous—si par impossible nos nations parvenoit à se rapprocher, et à s'entendre, il verrait avec une grande joie l'occasion de communiquer, de travailler avec vous, à cette œuvre salutaire et pacifique—assurement votre gouvernement ne pourrait choisir personne dans aucune circonstance, avec qui Le Brun eut plus de plaisir à parler d'affaires. Adieu, adieu.

*Translation.*

*Secretary of State's Office, Foreign Affairs.*

Paris, Jan. 5th, 1793.

Mr. Le Brun desires me to express to you his sincere regret, that he is still obliged to defer the pleasure of writing to you—he begs of you not to doubt his esteem. If it was possible for our nations to understand each other—it will give him great pleasure to join his efforts with yours, to accomplish this salutary and pacific object—assuredly your government could not choose any person in any case, with whom Le Brun would have more pleasure to transact business.

*From Mr. Maret, premier chef du département des affaires étrangères.*

Paris, 7th Janvier, 1793.

Que sont donc devenues, mon cher Miles, ses dispositions bienveillantes et pacifiques dont vous m'aviez donné l'esperance? puis-je les retrouver dans l'activité de vos armemens? dans le langage injurieux que les hommes, mêmes les plus sages de votre Parlement ont adopté sur tout ce qui regarde la France? dans les actes véritablement hostiles, dont les Français, leurs personnes

leurs effets de commerce, sont devenues l'objet depuis, que votre législature est rassemblée? dans la fierté véritablement injurieuse, que vos ministres ne cessent d'opposer à la conduite sage et modérée de la république? Non, mon cher Miles, ce n'est point ainsi qu'on peut rapprocher deux nations, dont l'union assurerait la prospérité réciproque; qui en vivant en bonne intelligence, ne tarderaient pas à jouir de l'utile et honorable avantage, d'être les arbitres des intérêts divers de toutes les puissances du monde, et qui du moins si elles s'arment l'une contre l'autre, doivent se combattre, sans cesser de s'estimer—notre Gouvernement ne craint pas la guerre; il connaît ses ressources et vos moyens; il sait quels seraient ses amis, et vos ennemis; son active prévoyance l'a mis en mesure, de se défendre, ou même d'attaquer, avec vigueur; des calculs établis sur des bases certaines, lui présentent assez de chances de succès, pour croire, que le bonheur qui jusqu'à ce jour a couronné toutes ses entreprises, n'abandonnera point nos étendards, si vous nous forcez à diriger contre vous, nos armes victorieuses—cependant il desire encore la paix; il la préférerait à la guerre la plus heureuse; il est prêt à faire pour l'obtenir tous les sacrifices que pourront permettre la dignité républicaine, et les intérêts de notre patrie.

*Translation.*

*Secretary of State's Office, Foreign Affairs.*

Paris, 7th Jan. 1793.

“What are become, my dear Miles, of those benevolent and pacific dispositions which you encouraged me to hope prevailed with your government? Must I look for them in your warlike preparations? In the insulting language in which men, the most enlightened in your parliament, speak on all occasions of France? In the hostility of your proceedings against her natives—their persons and their effects? In the arrogance of your ministers, which opposed to the wise moderation of our government, is as humiliating as it is impolitic? No, my dear Miles, it is not by such means that friendship can be preserved between two nations whose union would ensure their reciprocal prosperity.—Who preserving a good understanding with each other, would soon enjoy the honourable and valuable distinction of arbitrating the different pretensions of all nations—and, who at least should they be compelled to arm themselves against each other, would not in their combats forget to esteem each other. Our government does not fear war.—It knows its resources, and your means.—It knows who will be its enemies, and who will be your friends; its active foresight has put it in a condition to defend itself, or even to attack with vigour—calcu-

lations founded on the soundest basis, offer sufficient assurances, that the good fortune which has hitherto given success to our enterprizes, will not desert our standards, should you compel our victorious army to direct its force against you—yet with all this knowledge, and with all these encouragements, our government yet wish to preserve peace—it would even prefer it to the most successful war—it is ready to make every sacrifice in its power consistently with the dignity of the republic, and the interests of the nation.”

*Un extrait.*

*Du département des affaires étrangères.*

11 Janvier, 1793.

J'espère qu'après les mesures qui pourront être prises par notre gouvernement et par le votre, de rétablir un peu de bonne harmonie, mais je crains beaucoup qu'une trop longue incertitude ne nous engage trop avant, avec les Liegeois qui desirent la ré-union à la France, et même avec les Belges dont les plus belles provinces, les deux Flandres, le Tournaïsis, le Hainaut, et le Namurois, sont en mesure d'exprimer le même vœu ; Avec l'espérance fondée de la paix, on ne balancerait pas à le rejeter ; avec la persuasion qu'on ne peut éviter la guerre, on se déterminerait peut-être à ne plus garder de ménagement et à les réunir ; tâchons d'éviter une détermination que je ne crois pas nécessaire pour nous, et qui n'entrerait pas dans les vues de votre gouvernement—adieu, mon cher Mies, je vous suis tout dévoué.

*Translation.*

*Secretary of State's Office, Foreign Affairs.*

Paris, 11th Jan. 1793.

I augur well upon the measures which may be taken by your government and mine, to re-establish harmony between the two nations—but I am much afraid that a state of suspense much longer observed, will force us to enter into engagements with the people of Liege, who as well as the people of Brabant, wish to unite themselves to France, as its best provinces, the two Flanders, Tournay, Hainault, and Namur, all express the same desire.

With a well founded hope of peace being preserved\*, we should not hesitate a moment to reject these offers ; but under the persuasion that war cannot be avoided, we shall decide to no longer hesitate to re-unite them. Let us then endeavour

Between France and England.

to avoid a determination, which I do not believe is necessary to us, and which certainly would not accord with the views of your government †. Adieu, my dear Miles,

I am most truly yours, &c.

*To the Right Honourable William Pitt, &c. &c. &c.*

Sir,

13th Jan. 1793.

This is merely to inform you, that the instructions transmitted to Mr. Chauvelin, by the same express that brought my dispatch, are communicated to me in the letter I have received, and that I am authorised to state that to you, which he cannot say, and which indeed he does not know. I beg to know when I may have the honour of laying before you, what has been transmitted to me from Paris. I have the honour to be, &c.

No answer.

W. A. MILES.

*From Mr. Renard, Secretary of Legation.*

Portman-square, 19 Janvier, 1793.

Je vous tiens parole, homme respectable, qui redoute la guerre, parcequ'elle est la honte, et le fléau de l'espèce humaine. La réponse de Lord Grenville, est arrivée—elle paroît rendre impossible tout moyen de s'entendre, le gouvernement Anglais nous méprise, voilà sur quoi je fonde encore mon espoir.

Ce Samedi, à trois heures du matin.

*Translation.*

Portman-square, 19 Jan. 1793.

I keep my word with you, and respect you for reprobating war, for it is at once the scourge and disgrace of our species.—The answer of Lord Grenville is arrived, and all means of preserving a good understanding seems to be at an end—the English government despises us, and it is from this very circumstance I yet hope success.

Saturday at 3 in the morning.

*Extrait.*

From Mons. Noel, Minister Plenipotentiary from France, at Venice, 19 d'Août, 1793.

Tous mes efforts pour conserver la paix ont été détruits, je me fusse estimé trop heureux de concourir à ce grand ouvrage, et je n'oublierai jamais qu'il n'a pas tenu à vous monsieur, que je n'eusse cette gloire à jamais regrettable. Je me plais à rendre à votre philanthropie, et aux soins genereux qu'elle vous a fait prendre, le témoignage qu'ils méritent.

à Monsieur Miles, Cleveland-row.

† It is for parliament to shake Lord Grenville responsible for the loss of the low countries. He owes us much, and it is full time the country should call on him for payment.

*Translation.*

All my efforts for preserving peace have failed. I should have esteemed myself extremely happy in having contributed to that great point, and I shall never forget, that *it was not your fault that I did not acquire a glory ever to be regretted.* It is a pleasure to acknowledge what is due to your philanthropy, and generous exertions.

To Mr. Miles, Cleveland-row.

*Appendix M.*

I was on a visit to the elector of Mayence, at Aschaffenburg, when the French revolution gave the first convulsive shock to Europe, in 1789. It made that kind of impression in Germany which guilt is supposed to feel in the hands of justice. The impression was general, but the sensations were different. The princes felt their authority in danger—the people considered oppression at her last gasp, and their joy at what had occurred on their confines, was expressed in a manner ill calculated to lessen the apprehensions of those who had reason to dread their resentment. One party, agitated and alarmed, beheld the terrific storm in silence, or at most, in communicating their melancholy conjectures of it's future consequences to each other in private; while the latter, rude and uncouth, adapted their manners to the revolution, and ill dissembled their joy at the prospects they fancied in view.—These different feelings of the various orders of society insensibly brought all classes of men, by contrary directions, to something like equality. If one description trembled for the future, the other, animated by hope, looked forward in confidence to better times. If the former had something to lose, the latter thought they had much to gain, a visible change appeared in the language, sentiments, and conduct of all descriptions of people. It was at that period, in the very babyhood of the revolution, and at a considerable distance from the theatre of action, that observing the effects that great event had on men's minds, I ventured to compare it to a tremendous earthquake that would be felt at both extremities of the globe. This description of the revolution was transmitted to Mr. Pitt, to the late Duke of Leeds, then secretary



of state for foreign affairs, and to the late Marquis of Lansdowne, in August, 1789. At this epoch I was called from Germany to take a part in the more active scenes of Liege\*, and Brabant, where I found Prussian and French emissaries bidding against each other, and courting, in the names of their respective sovereigns, that confidence and popularity to which neither of them were entitled. The following brief sketch may possibly throw some light upon a subject not generally known, and illustrate the perfidy of the court of Berlin and the venality of its agents.

A war, contemptible in its origin and ludicrous in its progress, had been carried on between the people and their sovereign with alternate success, from 1785 to this period—not by arms, but by special pleaders called assessors, belonging to the imperial chamber at Wetzlaar, which, with the aulic council at Vienna, decided

\* To the Duke of Leeds, secretary of state for foreign affairs, &c. &c. &c.

Liege, 19th Jan. 1790.

My Lord,

Prussia is playing a very cruel and deceitful part by the popular party in this principality. The king of Prussia, in his letter to the prince bishop, which I have seen, pretends to condemn his conduct, and insists "*qu'il donne raison à ses sujets*;"\* but the answers of his highness, which I have also seen, convince me, "*que c'est un jeu entre deux scélérats*," in which, however, the king has the advantage of the priest in trick and finesse. The minister of the former, Mr. Dohm, is pillaging the poor Liegeois without mercy, under the pretence of serving them at his court; he has already received 5000 florins, nineteen of which and a half, as I have already had the honour to state to your grace, in my letter of the 14th inst. are equal to a pound sterling. He has hinted that he must immediately have more, or it will be too late for the intended application; the Countess d'Orion, the *entremetteuse*†, whom I have mentioned as having also received as much, requires 10,000 more. "*Pour finir et pour assurer aux Liegeois une victoire complète sur l'évêque, c'est ainsi qu'on trompe le peuple par tout*;"‡ but Mr. Dohm is not the only man of his court who plunders this country—all are venal at Berlin, from Frederick himself down to his Heydukes—His court is an immense shop for treaties of alliance, offensive or defensive, or both—for subsidies, for protection, for every thing. "*Et toute en règle car il y a un tarif, tout s'y vend*," and they seem to trade, my Lord, upon the same principle as the Buccaneers—after they have received the money, they seize from the hapless deluded purchaser, by violence, the merchandize they have sold, and keeping his cash and his goods, dismiss him to contemplate, at his leisure, their perfidy and his hard fortune! In my correspondence in 1787, I cautioned Mr. Pitt against the foubier of the King of Prussia, who, by the way, detests him, and I repeat it to your Grace, that you cannot be too circumspect in your transactions with his Prussian Majesty.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. A. MILES.

\* "*That he gives satisfaction to his subjects*,"

† "*The go-between, or intermediate person, between Mr. Dohm, and the patriots*."

‡ "*10,000 florins more were required, to finish and assure to the people of Liege a complete victory over their Bishop; and it is in this manner that the people are every where the dupes and victims*."

"§ *Every thing is by system, there is a regular price*."

all causes in the last resort according to the Germanic constitution, not only between private individuals, but between subjects and their sovereigns, and even between sovereigns. The prince bishop of Liege, a plain unlettered man, naturally inoffensive, and if left to himself, well meaning—his breviary, was his library, and if nothing more had been required than to repeat his ave maria, or perform mass, he would have journeyed through life with the reputation of being a good priest. An intrigue of the court of Versailles to thwart the house of Austria, and to defeat the pretensions of Mons. de Rohan, who aspired to the principality on the death of Count Velbruck, the former prince, elevated the Count de Hoensbruck to the papal throne of Liege, and marred at once his fortunes and his happiness. I lived in habits of intimacy with him, I may say, confidence, from his accession to the close of 1787, when a misunderstanding between him and my own government, in which he mixed more of the priest than the prince, terminated all intercourse between us.—Spa, so long the resort of the nobility and of the adventurers of all nations, supported itself by its waters and its gaming tables. The latter was a source of revenue to the government, not quite so prolific or mischievous, but to the full as disgraceful to legislation as our gin shops. A few individuals, his subjects, stimulated by the late Count Ricc, insisted upon opening another gaming house, without paying tribute to Cæsar. The prince bishop was told that this was "*an attack upon his regalia*," (I make use of his own words) and that he must defend the "*rights of his crown*;" this advice, the ill counsel of some of his own family who shared in the spoils at Spa, was unhappily followed, and the war of *prerogative* commenced. Prussia secretly favoured the popular party, who, having nothing to hope from France or Austria, trusted confidently to the honour of the court of Berlin, and after having been plundered by the Prussian minister, Dohm, of all the money they could raise, under the pretence of serving their cause, and having been most shamefully deceived by his government, they were ultimately required, under pain of military execution, to return to their allegiance. Previous to this final act of habitual treachery in the court of Prussia, the French revolution had given fresh energies to the insurgents. Relieved from the apprehensions of the court of Versailles meddling with the affairs of the principality, a deputation from the popular party, with really pacific views, waited on the prince bishop, and beseeched him to amicably terminate a contest which had too long harassed the repose of the bishopric; he affected a ready compliance with their request, and the next day was fixed for the restoration of harmony

and mutual confidence between his highness and the people. For the moment he shewed himself a benevolent sovereign, desirous of conciliating the confidence of his subjects; but the cunning and the rancour of the priest triumphed over the prince. Unknown to his domestics, he made his escape in the night, and by private roads reached the city of Treves, where he sought refuge in a convent, and from thence he proclaimed his subjects to be in a state of rebellion, applied to the co-directors of the circle for their quota of troops to enforce the execution of the imperial decrees, and wrote a letter, in particular, to the king of Prussia, which, with his majesty's answer, I ought to have among my papers. Prussia, the bishop of Munster, and the elector of Bavaria, were the three directors charged with the maintenance of the peace of that part of the circle of Westphalia.

It was at this moment I was requested to return to Liege by the chief of the popular party, who had, through the whole of the seven years war, shewn a decided and certainly a most disinterested attachment to this country. I found, on my arrival, the troops of the circle in possession of the country, but Prussia had, by far, the greater portion, (I think 7000) under the command of general Schliffen; and as the Liegeois looked to them as protectors, and the others as the satellites of despotism, the former were treated with great distinction and received with affection, while the latter every where experienced coldness or disdain, even from the Prussians. This contributed to confirm the people in the delusion in which the court of Berlin thought it necessary to keep them. But Prussia did not send so large a body, to overawe, (as she pretended to the patriots), the other contingent troops of the Empire, or to enforce the execution of the laws, as she promised, to the fugitive bishop;—her objects went further, as will appear from the short note of general Schliffen, which I copied from the original \* at Bruxelles. The conduct of the emperor Joseph the second, whose temper was as impatient as his mind

\* *Copy of a note from General Schliffen, commanding the Prussian troops at Liege, to the Chevalier Donceel, on a secret mission on the part of Prussia, to Brabant, addressed to him at Bruxelles.*

Dated Hague, 8 Feb. 1790.

« Je ne fais jamais question de faire entrer les troupes étrangères dans le Pays bas—vous pouvez dire hardiment que ni Hessois, ni Prussiens, ni de troupes de Brunswick, y entrèrent—il nous suffit, mon cher Chevalier, que le pais-bas ne retombe entre les mains de l'Empereur.

*Translation.*

“ It was never meant to send foreign troops into Brabant—you may boldly say that neither Hessians, Prussians, nor Brunswickers, shall enter the Low Countries—

was confused with half-digested projects, had very much irritated his subjects, when the triumph of America over the parliamentary-despotism of Great Britain, by the peace of 1783, suggested to the people in the Austrian Netherlands, a similar remedy for the vexations of their sovereign; on my arrival, in the February of that year, at Bruxelles, I read the following lines, with others to complete the verse which I have forgotten, affixed at the town-house and at several other public buildings :

“ Pauvre Belgique !

“ Ton gouvernement devienne tyrannique,

“ Faites comme l'Amérique.”

Advice is generally thrown away upon men who believe themselves omnipotent and omniscient. This error, or rather this vice of all governments, marked that of Vienna as strongly as it did that of France, and even the little principality of Liege was not deficient in those pretensions which contributed to their common ruin. In 1787, the first explosion happened, and the archduke and duchess were constrained to leave the low countries, and to proceed to Vienna, where their brother, the emperor, treated them with extreme harshness : they were followed by deputies from Brabant and Flanders—an accommodation took place, and the parties returned.—But little versed in the history of courts, and forgetting that horrible maxim, that *those who injure never forgive*, they found, on their return, the conditions agreed to by the emperor, and above all, the amnesty promised, most shamefully violated. A new minister,\* and a new commander in chief† were dispatched to the low countries;—the former without capacity, information, method, or decision;

it is sufficient, my dear Chevalier, that the Low Countries do not again fall under the dominion of the House of Austria.”

The object of Prussia at that time— aspiring to wrest the barren sceptre of Charlemagne from the Emperor—was to cripple Austria, by detaching the Netherlands from her sovereignty, as they were a source of wealth to him in time of war. The mother of Joseph the Second received in aids during the seven years war from the Low Countries seventy-five millions of German florins—£6,818,188 sterling. The sum annually transmitted to Vienna, all the expences of the government in the Low Countries included, amounted to six millions of Brabant florins, or £,416,000 sterling. It was for this purpose 7000 Prussians were, marched to Liege under the pretence of supporting the decree of Wetzlaar, but in fact to aid the Brabanters and Liegeois to resist the imperial troops, should they have marched to subjugate the insurgents. Offers were made at the same time, (1790), by Prussia, to support the National Assembly against Lewis the Sixteenth, if France would declare against Austria.—The business at Pilsnitz opened other prospects to the court of Berlin, and Liege and the Netherlands were sacrificed—the one to its bishop, the other to the emperor.

\* Count de Trauttsmandorff,

† General d'Alton.

ignorant and haughty:—The other, a mere soldier, fit for the ranks, and nothing more, was with his garrison driven out of Bruxelles by the inhabitants, leaving behind him, so great was his panic, his coadjutor in the government, and the military chest. Both these gentlemen entered on their important missions, in which the most perfect confidence and well-concerted measures were necessary for their master's interests, by quarrelling with each other, and endeavouring to trip up each others heels at Vienna, by those secret manœuvres which little minds know so well how to practise, and which great ones despise. The minister aimed at circumventing his colleague, to insure to himself more strongly, if possible, the affections of a lady, who wished of all things to behold her husband commander in chief of the forces in the low countries. While these intrigues were going on at Bruxelles, and the public safety endangered by the jealousies and quarrels of two men, alike unworthy and unfit for the stations they held, the emperor amused himself with manufacturing edicts to which the bayonet was to give legitimacy and currency. A second flight of the archduke and duchess, and the expulsion of his troops, convinced him that men are not always in a disposition to be dragooned into "unconditional submission." It was in the midst of all this confusion that I returned to Bruxelles, where I had before resided, and where I found the princess of Orange\* no less busy in encouraging the revolt, than her brother the king of Prussia; not in concert with him, but trading on her own account, in favour of her son the hereditary prince, whom she wished to have declared duke of Brabant.

Some two or three very insignificant and uninformed men, had the folly to suggest to their countrymen the election of the duke of York: those who were the most capable of remounting the dislocated machine of government †, and who had the interest,

\* His majesty, in his great goodness (and it is easy to be munificent with such means!) recommended that a provision should be made for the husband of this lady, the late Stadtholder, whose wretched career had been one continued warfare with all the vicissitudes of life, and 60,000*l.* in ready money, and 15,000*l.* per ann. were voted by parliament to this personage. I do not know what claim he could possibly have on the munificence or gratitude of this country, but from the papers in my possession, he seems to have been well entitled to a halter in his own hands.

† *Extrait from one of the party in Brabant, in favour of interpolating the Austrian Netherlands, Liège, &c. in a republic.—April 2, 1795.*

I will be much obliged to you to let us know what your ministry think of our affairs, and what part they seem disposed to take in them. My father desires me to add, that it is earnestly begged of you to press your government, as much as you can decently, to approve of the proposed plan of a republic. Your country, he says, will find it greatly to her interest. If your minister refuse, we must of necessity throw ourselves into the arms of France.

of their country at heart, proposed converting the whole of the Austrian Netherlands with the Liège country, Stablo, Luxembourg, Duchy of Limburgh, and Pays de Herve, into a republic. This plan had been concerted with the insurgents at Liège\*, and communicated to me in detail, with what it was proposed to offer to Great Britain, if she would so far countenance the project as only to remain neuter; should she object publicly to espouse the cause of the Netherlands, or to guarantee their independence in conjunction with Prussia and Holland, after it had been obtained. With these proposals I reached London in February, 1790,—and in a long conversation with the Secretary of State for foreign affairs, detailed the advantages this country would derive from having a free and direct passage for her manufactures through the Netherlands to the great fairs at Franckfort; and that the low countries would pledge themselves to reinstate all the frontier towns which Joseph had dismantled of their fortifications on the side of France, and defend the passage without pecuniary or other aid from England, provided they had a government of their own choice.—Except the polished manners of a gentleman, the duke of Leeds possessed no one quality essential to the department at which he presided.—To all my statements, representations, and warnings, scarcely any answer or observation was made, except “*that it would be going great strides* ;”—to which I replied, that when men run a race with a giant, they must measure their steps by his, or they will be distanced—that France had started, and whether we would or not we must follow.—This danger was not seen or felt, and my reasoning of course had no effect; yet as a something *might accidentally turn up* in the convulsions on the continent which might render useful to them, what ministers were pleased to call rebellion, the insurgents were privately encouraged in their revolt. It is in this manner, so pitiful, so underhanded, and with as little policy as dignity or manhood, that vague hopes, in half and unintelligible

\* Le Belges vont faire des démonstrations pour nous aider. Notre cause devient commune. Si les troupes qui viennent nous attaquer, nous écrasent, les Belges seront écrasés ensuite. Les Prussiens sont forcés d’avoir des ménagemens pour l’empire, et votre ministre semble abandonner la cause de la liberté; cela n’est pas beau pour des Anglois—veuillent ils donc dans leur égoïsme être le seul peuple libre de la terre?

*Translation.*

The Belgians are making preparations to assist us; they will make common cause with us. If the troops which are coming to attack us should defeat and crush us, the Belgians will also be crushed. The Prussians are obliged to preserve appearances with the *empire*, and your minister seems to abandon the cause of liberty, which is not to the credit of your countrymen.—Will they allow no nation to be free but themselves?

sentences, were held out to a population of nearly four millions of people, occupying the whole of a very fertile extent of country between France and Holland, and offering to become a barrier to the latter against the former, and to allow the importation, duty free, of British manufactures, hats, refined sugar, and malt liquor excepted.

After my strenuous, but ineffectual efforts, had failed to accomplish what the late duke of Leeds lamented to me, in 1797, had not been attended to, I was sent to Paris on a private mission, and of a nature to authorise a hope that the idea I had long cherished, and that the late duke d'Aiguillon had reduced to form, would be accomplished: it was under these impressions, and well aware that my political sentiments were fully known to Mr. Pitt, from my private correspondence with him for several years, that I set off for Paris in 1790. Conceiving it to be not the least important part of my duty to apprize him of the state of the public mind in France, at that time agitated by contending factions within, and these again played upon by a legion of emissaries from foreign courts; conceiving it to be even criminal at all times, to mislead government, but more especially at a moment when erroneous information might give a bias to his majesty's councils, injurious to the public interests, I was scrupulously exact in all my correspondence, to most carefully separate intelligence from conjectures, lest the latter should be mistaken for the former.—At no period of our history was it ever more necessary for those who corresponded with ministers, to be rigidly correct in their communications—at no period could it have been more criminal or more dangerous for their agents to have imposed falsehoods, or even to have disguised or concealed the temper and views of the people amongst whom they resided, or to have regulated their feelings and impressions by the passions, prejudices, and circumscribed views of those by whom they were employed. I did not suspect, at that period, the sincerity of those professions by which Mr. Pitt had gained the confidence of his sovereign and the country.—With this opinion of his good faith, I felt assured that the revolution in France must have been an acceptable event, and that while he participated in the general triumph, his talents would have been exerted to consolidate the happiness of a people, who, charmed at the great change they had unexpectedly accomplished, looked, in the delirium of their joy and surprise, on this country as the arbitrator of their fate. If it had been an object of his ambition to "*Ride in the whirlwind and direct the storm.*" the moment was favourable, but his views fell far short of such noble daring.

The internal situation of France, and particularly of her metropolis, already agitated by contending factions, violently disputing for that sceptre which they had with common accord wrested from the feeble grasp of their weak but well-meaning sovereign, assured him this ascendancy \*.—A long-nurtured jealousy, artfully kept up by the crooked policy of the two courts of London and Versailles, had not prevented France from rendering a just tribute to the virtues, the wisdom, and heroism of this country; and it is a justice I owe to the magnanimity of that nation to publicly acknowledge, that the revolution they had effected, acquired fresh charms in their estimation, by the prospects, or rather assurances, it held out to their warm and sanguine expectations, of its doing away all the illiberal prejudices and animosities which had separated both countries from that amicable and mutual intercourse they had long wished for.—In a word, they would have embraced us as friends at the period to which I allude. That friendship would have acquired strength from age, and in assuring the prosperity of both nations, have ensured the peace of the world for centuries. Unfortunately no such disposition animated our councils; and that it did not will ever be subject of deep and profound regret to those who, loyal to the principles on which civil societies are founded, deny the legitimacy of all warfare that does not arise from the necessity of self-defence †.

As I had ventured, in my correspondence with Mr. Pitt from Germany in 1786, to hope that the treaty of commerce would ultimately lead to a treaty of alliance with France, I availed myself of every opportunity, after my arrival in Paris, to inform myself with a certainty of the general feeling of the people towards this country, and especially of those who at that time had a decided influence on the public mind.—That feeling I found to

\* The shock which the subversion of the old government gave to all the nations of Europe, placed the destiny of the continent, as it were, in the hands of Mr. Pitt, if his mind had been sufficiently comprehensive, to have looked forward to no very remote period.

† Cowper's description of an enlightened and virtuous king is so fine, and so well adapted to my present subject, that I cannot resist the temptation of quoting it;

" Covetous only of a virtuous prize,  
His life, a lesson to the land he sways;  
To touch the sword with conscientious awe,  
Nor draw it till when duty bids him draw;  
To sheath it in the peace-enjoying throng,  
With joy beyond what victory bestows;  
Blest country, where these highly glorious shine!  
Blest England, if this happiness were thine!"



be strongly in favour of union with England, "*the classic land of liberty*," as Mirabeau elegantly called it, in the national assembly. All France at that time looked to this country with admiration, and even with affection. Happy to find the foundation stone laid, as I thought, of that alliance which would necessarily extinguish all cause of warfare between the two nations, and ensure the peace of the world for ever, I wrote to Mr. Pitt, that the best and most enlightened men in France, with the entire bulk of that kingdom, were most cordially disposed to bury in eternal oblivion all those jealousies and antipathies which had so long estranged the two countries from each other.—I was credulous enough to believe that Mr. Pitt was no less devoted to the interests of his country than myself, and sanguine enough to conclude, that as the policy of what I urged must have been as obvious to him as it was to myself, my information would have been received with that warmth which was due to its value and importance. It was my misfortune to have mistaken his views; nor was I then aware that the interests of the country, though they formed at all times the van of his parliamentary harangues, were secondary considerations, subordinate to the greater object of his ambition—the being at the head of his majesty's councils. I had the mortification to find other gentlemen at Paris on missions very different to mine, and not very creditable either to the understanding of those who sent them, or to our national character. To add to the calamity of a conduct so indiscreet, the persons employed were not very well calculated to forward the views of their employer, even if they had been less exceptionable; but though they could not serve him, they could mislead and flatter him.—While the whole force of my correspondence was directed to enlighten his march through the mists and mazes of the revolution—while I felt it my duty to transmit nothing but facts, or such conclusions drawn from facts as could not be disputed—I found that the project of effecting a counter revolution had become a favourite measure with the British court, and that its practicability must be the creed of every man who wished to stand well in the opinion of the minister—of course my more faithful representations were discredited; and it soon became evident that every English gentleman, who declared a counter revolution to be impracticable, was suspected of jacobinism, and held as criminal as if he had conspired to subvert the government of his own country. A fugitive nobility, laity, and clergy, followed by a rabble of priests, flying in all directions, carried every where with them their peevish falsehoods and misrepresentations—whom guile and cowardice fabricated, and which subsequent events

have proved to be as malicious as they were ill-founded.—Every where they endeavoured to excite surrounding nations to carry war and desolation into the country they had shamefully abandoned, and which they might have preserved from the horrors of anarchy, if their loyalty, their courage, or their affections for their families, or friends, had borne any proportion to the interests they had in repairing the accumulated errors of successive administrations.—It was this description of emigrants, distributed in every court in Europe, who preached a crusade at the close of the eighteenth century, not very dissimilar in principle, and in its effects, from that which disgraced the eleventh century; and while they were indefatigable in their efforts to engage foreign nations in the dishonorable attempt of a counter revolution, their friends and associates in Paris were no less active in their efforts to inspire the multitude with a distrust of this country.—Every artifice, every calumny, and fraud, that revenge and despair could devise, were employed to seduce the popular party into a declaration of war against England; but they had the magnanimity to be above suspicion—they spurned every insidious proposal meant to destroy that confidence, and interrupt that harmony, which they flattered themselves existed between their respective governments, and gave his majesty's ministers credit for a rectitude of sentiment and a delicacy of feeling of which they were undeserving;—nor was this confidence in the amicable disposition of Great Britain impaired, until it became evident that the new order of things in France was offensive to the British court, by the countenance and protection openly given to the declared enemies of the revolution.—Aware of the mischiefs in preparation to both nations, by the credit given to the interested representations of the emigrants, I never ceased to assure Mr. Pitt that the revolution could not be stopt—that no power on earth—no combination of exterior force, however able the generals, or well appointed their armies, could prevent the majestic and gigantic march of the revolution—and that the only safe line of conduct the British government had to follow, was to scrupulously abstain from every species of interference in the internal arrangements in France, which might be supposed to have for its object the counteracting the public enthusiasm, which, if not opposed, would soon subside into that sobriety of conduct and urbanity of manners which prevailed in more quiet times. This desirable event rested solely with the British cabinet.—For something more than a year after the destruction of the Bastille, France looked to England, not with distrust, but certainly not without anxiety.—Her close neighbourhood, her potency, her resources, rendered her, if not an

object of suspicion, at least a power to be respected and attended to.—France might be much injured and distressed by a war at that moment, but she could not have been destroyed; but even with a chance of victory in the contest, I believe she would, at that time, have preferred an alliance.

To those who beheld in the great change the means of approaching the two countries, and putting an end for ever to those squabbles which never failed to desolate the four quarters of the world, the revolution discovered a truth very favourable to a project so extensive and important, and not very creditable to those who endeavoured to conceal it.—It proved that those sentiments of national antipathy which the French were said to have for the English people had no foundation—that it was a slander, artfully contrived to keep up a spirit of eternal jealousy and rancor, for the wicked purpose of being called into action whenever it suited the barbarous and mercenary views of their respective governments to break asunder the bonds of peace\*. France, even in the midst of a war which promised her ample atonement and revenge for all the humiliations imposed on her by the peace of 1763, was well disposed to sheathe the sword, and bury in eternal oblivion all remembrance of what had estranged the two nations for centuries.—The French revolution, accelerated by that of America, revealed to the people of France and England that their interests were not so distinct, or opposed to each other, as they were taught to believe, and that they had been grossly misrepresented to each other by their respective governments.—This discovery tended the more strongly to dispose France to an alliance, from which the blunt but suspicious temper of this country no longer shrunk, as containing in it something disastrous and fatal to their happiness. It was under auspices so favourable to an union of interests—it was in the very moment when the

\* It was not so much to distress this country, and much less was it to advance the cause of Liberty, that France declared in favour of America—it was that the court of Versailles should have the full benefit of a war expenditure.—War was its resource—a kind of nest-egg for the court whenever it became pressed for money, and almost as valuable as a military drive, with the advantage of being at the moment better fenced by prerogative.

The American war, which unquestionably accelerated the revolution in France, and the ruin of her royal family, is another strong proof of the extreme danger of allowing the right of declaring war to reside in an individual. One of the great objects of the French revolution was to have taken this prerogative from the crown; and if no other crime existed for a measure of such odious pretence, that of the origin of the war of the Flanders†, which lasted thirty years, and laid desolation over the borders of the poor power, would have justified the national assembly in depriving the monarch of the power so long to be abused.

† Vide Appendix (5).

people of both countries had begun to feel a reciprocal esteem, from having become better known to each other, that the mistaken policy of Great Britain, for purposes most artfully withheld, violently ruptured this amicable disposition, and plunged the two nations in a war, which has given to the rival she would have annihilated the entire dominion of one quarter of the globe, with a fair prospect of obtaining an authority in another which may ultimately lead to our expulsion from Asia.

Such are the results of a war, which France most anxiously endeavoured to avoid, even after Lord Grenville had informed Mr. Chauvelin that his diplomatic character in this country was null \*.—While a hope existed of success, no efforts were left unattempted by the secret and avowed agents of the French republic to prevent the direful extremity of war;—all that Humility herself could have submitted to without self-degradation—every concession that even the superlative arrogance of Lord Grenville could possibly have exacted, was made to avert the unprovoked anger of his lordship and of Mr. Pitt, who, though they had nothing like affection for each other, and never fraternized but to monopolize the royal confidence, seemed perfectly agreed in performing the terms upon which they consented to hold their respective situations; yet well disposed as they were to quarrel with France rather than surrender their places—obedient as they were to a menace which manhood would have spurned, their courage was not equal to an open and abrupt declaration of war.—The special pleader had recourse to chicanery, and both clubbed their whole stock of insolence to vex, irritate, and pro-

\* The mission of this gentleman to England is another instance of the delicacy which those who took the lead in the revolution were anxious to observe towards this country; and it is proper it should be kept down, because it is an additional proof that the aggression is the first instance rests entirely with the advisers of his majesty. I was at Paris at the time, and I speak from a knowledge of the fact.—When it was discovered that the ministers at foreign courts, appointed by the old government, were not friendly to the revolution, the people, through their organ, the Jacobin Club, became clamorous for a change, and it was proposed to send a member of that society to London.—The appointment would have taken place, but for the interference of the Diplomatic Committee, composed of members of the National Assembly. It was stated by Monsieur Talleyrand, now prince of Benevento, that as the court of St. James's held itself aloof, and was one of the first courts in Europe, it would have the appearance of deliberately inviting to send a person of that opinion, and that a gentleman should be selected for the mission to whom no well-founded objection could be made. In consequence of this prudent suggestion, the idea of sending a member of the Jacobin Club was abandoned, and Mr. de Chauvelin was appointed minister plenipotentiary; but being little versed in public affairs, he was accompanied by Monsieur de Talleyrand, on which this same principle as we have seen our Board of Admiralty sometimes send a baby crying to sea, with a veteran for his nurse, to take care of his majesty's ship and ship's company.

voke France into an act of aggression, that her violence might appear to the world a justification of theirs\*.—The appendix L.† proves the guilt of aggression to have been on the part of his majesty's ministers.—Appendix N. demonstrates their incapacity to conduct the war, and their rancorous hostility to the very mention of peace.

One of the great objects of my pursuit, during a residence of nearly ten years on the continent, was to conciliate the esteem and confidence of those whose situations enabled them to have an early knowledge of what was going forward, and whose judgments well qualified them to give an opinion upon public affairs.—My correspondence was extensive—it was the labour of many years—it had been established at an expence I could ill afford, and to which I was stimulated by the conviction I have ever felt, that every man is bound to promote the interests of his country to the best of his abilities.—Mine are of a very humble cast—no man can be more sensible of their poverty than myself; but what I am deficient in talents, I have endeavoured to make up in zeal, diligence, and fidelity, and in these respects I feel myself equal to any man.—The friendships I had formed, during my residence on the continent, I preserved by as regular a correspondence as circumstances would admit, until the vindictive perseverance in the war deprived me of the means of continuing it. The extracts I have given from the letters I received in 1794 and 95, will be found interesting—particularly the two long ones from the Hague, which prove that Lord Grenville was wonderfully at a loss what to do, and that his official dispatches were at that time contradictory—that while he attempted to bully the Dutch to take that poor being the late Duke of Brunswick into their service, and continue in the confederacy, he prepared and consoled the House of Austria for the defection of their high mightinesses, by assurances that both powers could better carry on the war without Holland than with it‡!—All these facts, become historical re-

\* His lordship may possibly have hit upon this notable expedient from one of those scenes in vulgar life (if he ever condescended to look so far into the volume of human nature), in which one fellow, dourous of picking a quarrel with another who he thinks he can beat, dares him to strike first, under the idea, that the aggression is in the blow, not in the *affiant*—but it sometimes happens, that the fellow, who counts upon his prowess, finds himself outwitted by the baseness of his own subterfuge, and gets a confounded licking.—Thanks to the justice, and no less so to the wisdom of his majesty's ministers, the contest at present between France and England resembles the combat of Mendoza and Big Ben—with this difference, in the prospect of their respective fortunes, that the seconds and bottle-holders are all on the side of the former.

† Vide Appendix L.—Chauvelin's note.

‡ Vide the letters from the Hague, dated Nov. and Dec. 1794.—Appendix N.

cerds, will inform posterity how this country was misled in the first instance, and what tricks were afterwards employed to carry on the delusion.

I will forbear for the present all mention of the indecent manner in which Lord Grenville treated the first overture for peace transmitted by Bonaparte in 1800.—This proof of what his lordship and his partizans call firmness was not a proof of wisdom;—it proved the little foresight of an administration which parliament has suffered to conduct us from bad to worse, until we can neither advance nor retreat. This should serve as a lesson to the parliament of the present day, to be less liberal of its confidence and of the public purse, than its predecessors. It is, however, worthy of remark, and ought to make a deep impression on the minds of men, that every impertinence offered personally to Bonaparte has been productive of fresh honors being conferred on him, whatever was meant to estrange him from the people, always endeared him more strongly to them.—What Lord Grenville intended should degrade Bonaparte, served to exalt him: he was at first only consul for ten years—the insult offered by the flippant answer he received from his lordship in 1800, was considered as an affront to the nation, and they made him consul for life—a subsequent personality invested him with the right of nominating his successor—another effort to humble him made him emperor of France, and fixed the dynasty in his family. We have seen him make kings in as great profusion as Mr. Pitt has made peers, only with a much happier selection.—We may next expect to see Bonaparte proclaimed emperor of the West, perhaps of Europe; and it well behoves us to reflect on the policy of persevering in a contest, which serves only to increase the power of the enemy, and from which no substantial good to the country can be obtained.

The correspondence from different parts of the continent in appendix N. will shew that, in 1794, Spain, Austria, and Holland, became tired of the war, and wished to get out of it;—Prussia had withdrawn herself;—all the coalesced powers, except Great Britain, felt the folly of attempting to subdue opinions by the bayonet; and in that feeling they foresaw the inevitable ruin that would befall them, if they continued the contest.—His majesty's ministers alone remained obstinate; and their obstinacy, if persevered in, may have results far more serious than it becomes me to mention.

## Appendix N.

Hague, 26th November, 1794.

WHAT demon of folly and obstinacy governs your minister! The Greffier I find has entered at length into the object of his mission, and informed your cabinet of the offers made to us of peace by the French commissioners. The substance of your answer is, "*That his Britannic majesty is determined to carry on the war, and that if we will act with vigour and exertion, he would supply us with every thing in his power, money and men; but if we judged it of more advantage, after mature deliberation, to make peace, his majesty could have no objections; but he desired that we would so concert it, that the French should not dictate to us—that every proposition for recalling the patriots should be resisted most absolutely—that we are to inform you minutely of all that passes, and that the northern powers should not be permitted to interfere, as no mediation on their part ought to be admitted, one of them (Sweden) being subsidized by France\*, and the other known to be unfriendly (Denmark). That France should restore to us immediately all our frontier towns—in short, all that she has taken from us. If she offers to give up her conquests at the end of the war with England—not to be acceded to—they must be surrendered directly, and we are by no means to agree that the French shall keep them until they make peace with you—nor are we on any account to enter into an alliance with France.*" I have just seen La Combe's letter, and he offers on the part of the convention the "*status quo ante bellum.*" Would you not suppose from these conditions, and this haughty language, that the issue of the war had been as prosperous to us all, as we feel it to be disastrous? It is very possible that France may yield some of these points, but I much doubt it. I do not know what hidden resources you have, or what secret spells and charms you possess, to change the complexion of the times in your favour, and convert adversity into prosperity; but the course which it appears to all with whom I have conversed on the subject, that you ought to have taken on receiving the Greffier's communication, was to have stipulated with us not to enter into any negotiation for peace without your being a party. To have instructed us to offer to Mr. La Combe

\* What His Lordship called *subsidy* were some diamonds sent to the duke of Sutherland—part of the plunder of the garde meuble at Paris.

our influence with your court to terminate the war, and allowed us in appearance the merit of having prevailed on you to listen to terms of pacification—allowing it to have been a feint, (for it would have bound you to nothing) there would have been this policy in it—You would have discovered whether France was inveterate towards you *only*, or whether her anger had its bounds; and this is a *fact* which I think it would be prudent in you to ascertain, for it would serve as a guide in your future operations. If we had been desired to oppose every overture for peace unless you were included in it, we should have discovered the sentiments of the convention towards England; if this had been made (in appearance) the sine qua non of all negotiation, and Mons. La Conibe had objected to it as inadmissible, it would have shewn you what you have to expect from an enraged enemy; and if he had come into it, I see no good reason why you should decline a comfortable share in a good thing that is tendered to us.—If France had been untractable, your minister would have been able to meet parliament on such strong ground, that the whole nation must have resolved to support him; the *impossibility* of making peace would have been a justification of those *vigorous exertions* which he says the king is resolved upon, and a child could inform him that those *vigorous exertions*, without a very urgent necessity indeed, could not be easily defended.—That *necessity* would have appeared evident if France had peremptorily refused to treat with you, and I do insist on it that this *proof* ought to have been obtained by your minister from policy towards his own nation, even supposing that he was resolved to carry on the war to the very ruin and extinction of your power. At all events the experiment was worth trying, for if the French had agreed, it is fair to suppose from that very circumstance she would have met you half way towards an accommodation, and I do not see why a country so renowned for wisdom and deliberation should give the lie to her character; and turn Don Quixotte. The policy of France is to detach your allies from you—and your allies have all of them manifested a strong disposition to leave you. Where then is the breach of faith, or mischief, or danger of providing for your future safety by anticipating their malice, and guarding against their treachery, by closing with an enemy who released from attacking others, and even from the necessity of defending himself against their attacks, will be at full liberty to employ his entire force against you alone? Surely, my dear friend, your ministers are very unequal to the task they have undertaken; if it should be asked of them by parliament



whether France would not have granted peace to England as well as to Holland, what answer can they make? they dare not reply in the negative, because they do not know that it is so—neither can they reply in the affirmative for the same reason—yet they might have ascertained the *fact*, if they would have *condescended* to ask the question in the manner I have stated it ought to be made, instead of adopting the imperious tone of a conqueror, and prescribing to the victor, the conditions that are to be granted to him by the vanquished! As a matter of information, say as a matter of mere curiosity, to discover how near or how distant France was from an accommodation with your country, your cabinet should have instructed your minister at the Hague to request our government to sound the French—to feel how the pulse of the convention beat, by agreeing to enter into a negotiation for peace, provided Great Britain was included.—A negative from Mr. La Combe to such a proposal would have given vigor to your councils, by convincing the whole nation of Britain that peace only could be obtained by her arms; and if the French had acceded to it, and you were averse to treat until you had tried the event of another campaign, you might easily have eluded a final agreement, by insisting on conditions that could not be accepted.—At all events it behoved your minister to know the intentions of France, and the terms on which a peace might be obtained;—*he had it in his power to obtain this information, and he has ignorantly or rashly spurned it.* I have not the least objection to your keeping copies of my letters, if you think they may be useful, because the facts I send you at times may be interesting and valuable; but I rely on your honour to burn the originals, and on your discretion not to expose my hand-writing. My letters from Tuscany speak confidently in favour of peace.—The Tuscan government favours the French so strongly, and this disposition has been so much strengthened by the violent and indecent conduct of the people you sent to Florence, in the character of ministers from your court, that the Tuscans, disgusted with the hauteur of your country, have the more readily listened to the suggestions of the French, and think the politics of the jacobins more just, and their manners more mild than those of the English cabinet. As to Mr. Wyndham, he is out of our hearts—so much so, that he is hated as much for his insolence as he is despised for his ignorance. I am assured that he has rendered Florence so unpleasant to himself that he is mostly at Leghorn. Strong representations have been sent, however, from Naples to Vienna, on the conduct of the Tuscan go-

vernment, and if the authority of the Imperial court, or its influence over that of Florence should be extinguished, it is probable from the tenor of Mr. Wyndham's conduct, that your minister will take hostile measures.—The repose however of Italy this winter, can only be secured by your fleet being victorious in the Mediterranean.—The French will certainly be powerful in the spring, and though they have withdrawn their forces from Piedmont, they still hold possession of some strong fortresses and passes in it, from which it will not be easy to drive them.—Their ships, so long blocked up, took advantage of a gale of wind that drove your squadron away, and made their escape; and so much the better for you, as I find, by letters from Leghorn, that your fleet had been crippled, by the detaching so many ships, and that the crews were sickly by being kept so long at sea. This is a long letter, but its importance will excuse it.

P. S. On vient de m'assurer qu'on croit pouvoir procurer la paix à l'Angleterre—on travaille même à ce but, resté à savoir si votre ministre en sera content—Je vous embrasse.

To Mr. Miles, Cleveland-row, St. James's.

Madrid, January 1, 1795.

Our government here was much alarmed on hearing that the diet at Ratisbon had voted for peace, nor is the alarm confined to the court, it is universal, and gone to such an extent, that the Duke d'Alcudia has not only declared to the minister from your court,\* but to those from others, that, considering the dangerous predicament in which Spain stood, it certainly was not advisable to go on with the war.—I have some reason to believe, that this communication was not merely matter of opinion in common discourse but made officially, as the Duke lately declared to a friend of mine, that he received the most positive assurances from Lord Grenville, through Mr. Jackson,

\* I have reason to suppose that no such communication was made to our minister, at least his dispatches of that date I believe make no mention of it. I informed Mr Pitt, soon afterwards, that passports were at Bagle, in readiness for the Spanish envoy to proceed to Paris, but the intelligence was too unimportant to merit that minister's attention, and when Spain made her peace with France, several months afterwards, he pretended to have been taken by surprise, and much hurt at a conduct so little in union with her ancient character! If Mr. Pitt really was taken by surprise; if, as he said, our minister assured him of the firmness of the court of Madrid, what are we to think of the vigilance of our envoy?

that his Imperial majesty paid no attention to what passed in the diet; that he is determined to act in concert with Great Britain, and that he would increase his demand of contingent troops to 200,000 † men from the empire; that the king of Prussia was decidedly against a *separate*, though he wishes for a *general* pacification, and that he has sent his minister, Mr. Goltz, to Basle, ‡ to explain his sentiments to that effect. Your minister urges our court in the strongest manner to co-operate with you, but whether we shall think it prudent for your security to hazard our safety, is what I very much doubt.

Mr. Miles, Cleveland-row.

*Extracts.*

Madrid, September, 1794.

Nous sommes décidément pour la paix, il a été question même d'en faire la proposition à toutes les puissances coalisées, et soyez bien persuadé qu'on commencera par l'Angleterre.

Madrid, Sept. 1794.

We are decidedly for peace—it has been in contemplation to propose it to all the coalesced powers, and be assured, that it will be first mentioned to your court.

Vienna, September, 1794.

Tout a échoué—il n'y a plus rien à faire ici, on commence à penser sérieusement à terminer de bonne grace la guerre—My Lord Spencer ne réussira pas.—Do ask your foreign minister, Lord Grenville, how much old Thugut receives to be kept in good humour, and to continue the war.—The Germans will do nothing without being paid for it, and they well know the value of English guineas; I tell you in confidence that you are obliged to subsidize foreign ministers as well as foreign princes—but you are rich, you feast, sleep, and live in gold, and may well spare some of your alteses and to leurs ministres. I do assure you that T. will have his share, or if you will no longer pipe, he will no longer dance.

The former demand was 120,000 men.

He went not to explain but to negotiate a peace with Mr. Barthelmy, the French minister.

Vienna, Sept. 1794.

Every thing has failed—there is nothing more to be done here.—The necessity of finishing the war with a good grace, begins to be seriously felt—Lord Spencer will not, it is said, succeed.

Madrid, October, 1794.

Notre ministre à votre cour sera chargé de vous proposer la paix—il n'y a pas d'autre moyen de sauver notre malheureux pays, et si votre gouvernement s'obstine à continuer la guerre, nous serons forcés par les circonstances de faire la paix.

Madrid, Oct. 1794.

Our minister at your court, will be instructed to propose peace to you. There is no other means of saving our unhappy country—and if your government persists in continuing the war, we shall be forced to make peace.

Hague, October 19, 1794.

Votre ministre à notre cour a bien à faire, il travaille jour et nuit contre le projet dont je vous ai fait part. Il a été proposé d'envoyer une députation à Londres, my Lord St. Helens s'y est opposé—il a même prié en grace, qu'on ne la fit pas—ce sera à ce qu'on prétend une démarche ruineuse—cependant il y a une chose certaine, c'est, que quelqu'un ira toujours à Londres.

Hague, 19th Oct. 1794.

Your minister at our court, has much to do.—He labours night and day to counteract the project to make peace with France, and engage us to do the same, which I mentioned in my last.—It has been proposed to send a deputation to London—Lord St. Helen's has strenuously opposed it—he has even entreated that we would not do it—he pretends it will be a ruinous measure; however, one thing is certain—somebody will go to London.

Coblentz, 15th October, 1794.

Vous serez surpris, mon cher Miles, de recevoir une lettre de moi, mais je ne puis laisser échapper une occasion si favorable qui se présente de vous écrire actuellement, et sur laquelle je puis compter—mon Dieu! que nous sommes malheureux de nous

trouver après une dépense énorme, sans dire ruineuse, ou plutôt un épuisement général d'hommes et d'argent, réduits à la triste nécessité de mendier, pour ainsi dire, la paix d'une nation qu'on avoit accablée d'injures, et menacée d'exterminer ! Tous les électors, sur le Rhine, tomberont, l'empire même est menacé, et la cour de Vienne desire très sincèrement de pouvoir se tirer d'affaire.—Le roi de Prusse a fini, et tout scélérat qu'il est, il a mieux fait ses affaires que vous autres, car il a non seulement tiré de l'argent de ses amis, mais aussi de ses ennemis—il s'est vendu aux Anglais pour la guerre—il en a fait autant à la France pour la paix, avouez, mon cher ami, qu'il sait très bien faire ses marchés.

Coblentz, 15th Oct. 1794.

You will be surprised, my dear Miles, to receive a letter from me, but I cannot suffer a safe opportunity to write to you, to escape.—My God, how unfortunate to find ourselves after an enormous, not to say, ruinous expence—our money and men exhausted, reduced to the sad necessity of begging, as it were, peace, of a nation which we have overwhelmed with injuries, and threatened to exterminate.—All the electorates on the Rhine will fall—the empire itself is menaced, and the court of Vienna is sincerely desirous of getting out of the scrape—the king of Prussia has finished, and \*\*\*\*\* as he is, he has managed his affairs better than any one else, for he has not only taken money from his friends, but from his enemies;—he sold himself to the English for war—he has done the same to France for peace;—acknowledge, my dear friend, that he knows how to make a good bargain.

Madrid, October 4, 1794.

A la fin du compte, nous sommes prêts à entendre raison, mais vous ne l'êtes pas; las de la guerre, et non pas sans crainte de tout perdre en voulant tout gagner—nous voudrions bien la paix—mais Monsieur Jackson ne parle que de la guerre, et selon toutes les apparences vous serez obligés de la faire tout seuls.

Madrid, 4th Oct. 1794.

At last, we are ready to listen to reason—but you are not.—Weary of the war, and not without fear of losing all, in attempting to gain all, we would willingly make peace; but Mr. Jackson speaks only of war, and according to all appearances, you will be obliged to carry it on alone.

Hague, Nov. 18th, 1794.

The account that I sent you some time since is woefully confirmed, and to the loss of Nimeguen, you may add, the affections of this country for ever.—The intrigues of Vergennes, and the address of the French court in the late war, in fomenting the quarrel with the Stadtholder's party, and detaching Holland from you, were not half so destructive to your interests in their consequences, as the haughty precipitancy of your ministers.—From the worse than indiscreet conduct of your troops, and from the rapid advances of the French, do not be surprised if we should unite with France, and take a part against you;—we never cordially loved you, but your cabinet has contrived to make us most cordially hate you.—Do not let any hand writing be seen.

Mr. Miles, Cleveland-row, St. James's.

Hague, December, 1794.

What madness and imbecility govern your cabinet, and what good can your ministry possibly expect from the line of conduct they pursue; a line of conduct without stability, consistency, discretion, or vigour, and which has no one trait of plan, method, or uniformity, except that of blundering on at a venture, and trusting to the chapter of accidents for a successful issue to their piece-meal, ill conceived, and worse executed measures. If you are yet in credit and have access to any one of them, or if you can obtain an interview, ask them if they were not informed of what passed on the 10th instant, at a meeting with La Combe, the French commissioner. Ask Mr. Pitt, or your minister for foreign affairs, if *Monsieur La Combe did not declare to Mr. Van Breughel, that he would undertake to effect a peace between France and our republic, upon the basis of those declarations, by which the former renounces all foreign conquests, and disclaims all concerns whatever with the internal governments of other nations.* Monsieur La Combe says he has no doubt of success, but he positively insists on it as indispensable, that the ostensible overtures should proceed from the Hague, and be instantly made without delay. You must remember this gentleman; he was an officer at Douay, and the friend of your friend \*\*\*\*\*. It was Van Breughel who undertook the commission, and he made his report to the pensionary who, anxious to know the sentiments of the convention on the subject of a general peace, dispatched Van B. to La Combe—he was not absent more than a week, and the answer was as follows:—“*That France would treat with all the combined powers on the general basis above stated, but that with*

*regard to Holland, its present situation was too critical to allow of sufficient leisure to consult so many distant courts, and that a confidential person should be immediately sent to Bois le Duc."* La Combe declared his readiness to undertake the business, and instanced in proof of his sincerity, that he had arrested the celebrated General Daendels, a violent Dutch patriot, lest he should give intelligence of the negotiation, and endeavour to defeat its success by engaging the jacobins at Paris to declare against it. Your court's aversion to a peace is inexplicable; all its remonstrances are couched in the strongest terms of inveterate hostility towards France, and all means are essayed to induce us to continue the contest—but we cannot proceed, and so sensible is the Stadtholder of this, that he gives the country up for lost, for the party against him is too strong to admit him to call forth the full energy of the seven provinces;—his power is crippled, and he is personally despised, this is well known at Paris, and rely on it that Holland will either become attached to France by conquest or by treaty. Pray burn my letters after you have copied them.

P. S. The answer is come back from Bois le Duc, and the Dutch commissioners are gone to Paris to treat for peace; as you are not to be included in the bargain, I think you will lament the extremity to which you have reduced us; but whatever may be your fate in the event, remember it is the fault of your ministry, whose inconsistency equals their blindness and rashness, for at the very instant they are urging us to decline all treaty; to make every exertion in our power, and even to subsidize foreign troops, they assure the courts of Berlin and Vienna, that if we should make a separate peace, it will be the better for them and for you, as your forces will then be at liberty to act on the sea coast, and on shore in France! this is a curious fact, and you may rely on its truth. If so, why take so much pains, and why offer men, money, and ammunition to us if we will continue the war?

To Mr. Miles, Cleveland-row, St. James's.

\* For the correctness of the different statements in these letters I appeal to the official correspondence in the foreign department for the year 1794. If the whole of the foreign correspondence has been faithfully preserved, and properly documented, for the years 1793 and 1794, there will be found matter that will justify something far more serious than impeachment—it is really full time for parliament to prove that the responsibility of ministers is not a fiction. In the same year an Admiral was made responsible for his conduct—his breach of duty was punished with death—we have lately seen a General officer disgraced by the loss of his commission and rank, but ministers seem to claim, if not a legal, at least a kind of proscriptive right to impunity, and to brave public censure and resentment, while they are marching us with giant strides to revolution.

Hague, Dec. 1st, 1794.

I find you have taken two thousand Brunswickers into your service, for which the Duke of that name is much obliged to you, nor is his minister a loser by the bargain, as your good king has sent him five hundred pounds as a testimony of his royal affection.

Brunswick, no doubt, will not be the worse for being rid of so many vagabonds, mais reste à savoir, if you will be the better for them. The Greffier \* writes us word, that your good and wise ministers will not agree to the *provisionary armistice* that we asked of them for the British troops, and those of Austria under general Werneck—they positively say, they would not enter into such an engagement to preserve their own troops†, who must take their chance, and certainly they will not do it for a foreign army, unless it was in consideration of propositions for a general peace.—The Greffier's letter is dated the 26th November, and I suppose Lord St. Helen's will sing the same air. My letters from Paris state, that the jacobins will not obtain a triumph over the moderates, in which case the inhabitants of Brabant, and all the conquered countries will not be put in requisition.—The moderates are disposed to peace with you, the jacobins are for war against you—and Prussia not contented with what she has filched from you, talks of your being obliged to come to her market again. I assure you, the king of Prussia says so publicly, and I hear that you are privately endeavouring to get us to subsidize this honest sovereign, declaring that you are too deeply engaged with the Court of Vienna, to go again to the Prussian market for live cattle.

To Mr. Miles, Cleveland-row, St. James's.

Hague, Dec. 26th, 1794.

In proportion as men begin to feel themselves in the wrong, and have not the virtue to acknowledge it, they have recourse to trick, subterfuge, and falsehood.—When La Combe first communicated to us the pacific disposition of his country, our government imagining that peace would be very desirable to *ALL* the powers at war, enquired if France was disposed to a general peace, and in our great eagerness to ensure such a blessing, we undertook to answer for you.—France replied, that she was so disposed. But your ministry took fire at our officiousness, and so far from consenting to a suspension of hostilities they now request *between the*

\* Then in England, on a special mission.

† Our gallant troops were much obliged to themselves.



trains and the French on our frontiers, declared they would not consent to any such suspension even for the British troops, be their danger ever so great, and that they would be abandoned to their fate.—The idea of peace was reprobated in the strongest terms; we were implored to carry on the war with redoubled vigour, and that if we would renounce peremptorily all negotiation with the French, we should be assisted with money and men to the very extent of your power.—No argument was left unattempted to engage us to continue the war, and a positive assurance, that your exertions should keep pace with the danger.—Y  
 when it was first proposed to send over to you, to oppose his coming with all his forces, that such a proceeding would not only be useless, but offensive to the king. Our continuing in the war, was be indispensably requisite to the prosecution of it, and success, and we were solicited to allow some one, any Mr. Elliot\* to Brunswick, and to join with him in a petition from the two courts of London and the Hague, to his Majesty, to take the command of the army destined to cover and secure the seven provinces. It was at first expected of us to compliment the Duke of York with the feather and profits of such an appointment, but as we are not famous for complimenting away either our property or our understanding, no notice was taken of the occasional hints thrown out, and if such a measure had been formally proposed, I assure you that it would have been as formally REFUSED.—A part of Mr. Elliot's mission was to subsidize the two thousand Brunswickers, on the same terms as those of Hesse. When the Greffier went over, and communicated to your court the inability of this country to carry on the war, and the offers of La Coubre, it was answered that peace was absolutely inadmissible, and Lord St. Helen's was again instructed to urge us to a vigorous prosecution of the war, but that if we thought it more for our interest to make peace, his Britannic Majesty would not oppose it; strong remonstrances however accompanied this notification, and we were enjoined not to allow Denmark and Sweden to interfere, not to enter into an alliance with France, nor to allow of the rage of the patriots, and to insist on the status quo ante bellum. From the vehement and unrelenting

\* The son of the late Lord Elliot, and brother-in-law to Mr. Pitt.

† In reading these injunctions, and comparing the despotisms of France and Holland; looking at the vast power of the one, compared as it were with one of its thumb the whole of the other, at the very moment these conditions were to be exacted as the price of peace, on the former! the memory involuntarily recalls to mind the terms of the treaty proposed by Colbarto, Momarem, e, Furdillo, Shabo, Mully, Uly, Gue, perhaps Gue, the mighty emperor of Apur, to the Man Mountain. The titles of his imperial majesty, seem to be

opposition of your court to our making a separate peace, it would seem as if our adhering to the confederacy, was an object much to be desired; no such thing.—Your foreign minister in a dispatch lately sent to Vienna, has declared in express terms, *that our making a separate peace will be for the advantage of Great Britain, as her troops will no longer be necessary to the defence of Holland, and that a considerable force will of course be left at liberty to be employed with effect in France, and on the sea coast, and that thus relieved from what has hitherto been a burthen to you, the future exertions of Great Britain must have the desired success.*—Analyse this reasoning of Lord Grenville, compare the dispatches of his Lordship, previous to the first of December, with those subsequent to the 19th of that month, and let any reasonable and well-informed man decide, whether such a minister so at variance with himself, is fit to be entrusted with the foreign concerns of a great kingdom, or a proper person to have any share in the administration of her affairs.—If Great Britain can do better without us, why have pressed us to act with her, and so strenuously have insisted on it, as to offer us every assistance of money and men in her power, some months after she had declared her inability to do either; and stated her having an army of 40,000 men in her pay on our frontiers, while we had only 9, or 10,000, and exhorting us at that time to make those exertions, and to call forth those resources which she declared *she could not, and which she offered to do, when she found that we would not.* Surely your cabinet must not only want talents, but consistency, or suppose that we want intellect, and all recollection.

To Mr. Miles, Cleveland-row, St. James's.

so perfectly applicable, and so accurately descriptive of *our* emperor of Lilliput, that if Swift had written the Travels of Gulliver in our days, all the world would have sworn, that the dean meant his Lordship.—His picture is so faithfully drawn in the following words

Terror of the universe!  
Minister of ministers!  
Taller than the tops of men!  
Whose feet press down to the center,  
And whose head strikes against the sun;  
At whose nod the princes of the earth shake their knees;  
Pleasant as the Spring!  
Comfortable as Summer!  
Fruitful as Autumn!  
Terrible as Winter!

## Appendix O.

OUR newspapers have rung the changes on the *virtues* and *magnanimity* of the present king of Sweden, (and whose virtues and magnanimity will they not chant if they are paid for it?) until Flattery herself must have been nauseated. The history of this gentleman's anger to Bonaparte may be found in his personal distress, and in the prudence of his own ministers who refused to administer any longer to the follies of a sovereign, playing truant from his dominions, and squandering amongst strangers, all that he could drain from a people, poor, honest, and industrious, dependent on foreign commerce for support, and a part of whom are compelled, at times, from the sterility of the soil, and bad crops, to substitute the bark of trees for bread!—His majesty had been four years absent from his kingdom, loitering away his time in Germany, when a peremptory refusal from Stockholm to make him any more remittances, it is said, suggested to him the propriety, or, to speak more correctly, the necessity of returning home.—So bad was his credit, that not a merchant at Hamburgh would furnish him with cash for his bills in his way to Sweden. He received a temporary supply from a Danish gentleman at Plitz. I have been also assured, that as soon as the prince royal of Denmark † was apprised by public report of

† After the impolitic and unjustifiable attack on Copenhagen, the Danes were menaced with having Zealand delivered into the hands of the king of Sweden, if they did not accede to the demands of our court, one of which was to join us and Sweden against France, in return for which she was to have, at the expiration of *three years* after a definitive treaty of peace, her fleet restored—or an equivalent in money—or 4 sugar island, and this proposal was made *after* the bombardment. But the threat produced no other effect than to revive the almost extinguished resentment of a nation that had been before outraged by the wanton aggression of this country in 1801—it is impossible for men well informed of all the particulars of this unfortunate business, to recur to that rash and imprudent measure of hostility (which those who are the least competent to have judge been the most ready to approve), without feeling themselves dishonored by an act of government so repugnant to the noblest feelings of this country in former times, and so ill calculated to remove the evil it was meant to cure. Even the gentleman selected for a mission so ungracious, &c. to require from an independent state, a surrender of that independence, seems to have imbibed *innuendo* on the occasion perfectly in unison with the spirit that dictated the enterprise.—I mean nothing personal to Mr Jackson.—As a public man, his conduct is open to inquiry, and it is as useful sometimes to blame, as it is to praise;—this is a public right, the fair exercise of which cannot be disputed.—at all events it shall not be relinquished. If my information is correct, Mr Jackson's zeal to do justice to the question on which he was employed, passed the ordinary bounds of discretion;—he was, I believe, deared once or twice by the

his majesty's embarrassments,\* a sum sufficient to defray his expenses home was generously dispatched to him by his royal highness. Such was the general discontent occasioned by his absence and extravagance, that it was not judged advisable for the king to return to the metropolis. England was looked to as a resource for pecuniary supplies—her quarrel with France being more personal, than national, her worst passions were flattered, and an ample subsidy to Sweden, under the pretence of enabling her king to keep a garrison of eight thousand men in Stralsund, proved she was not ungrateful for the zeal with which that injudicious prince engaged in a contest repugnant to the interests of his subjects, and to which he must certainly have been stimulated as much by considerations of personal convenience, as by a wish to restore the balance of power in Europe.—Whatever

prince to recollect to whom he was talking—"Vous oubliez, monsieur, à qui vous parlez." My sources of intelligence were too pure and too immediate to leave any doubt on my mind of the correctness of the information, and, considering that the requisition he had to propose to his royal highness was of a nature the most insulting that could have been devised, the utmost mildness and urbanity should have been employed, to soften a demand, in which insolence and injustice contended for dominion. Unfortunately for the interests of the country and for its character, our diplomacy has not always observed that decorum at other courts which independent states have a right to expect from each other.—Our conduct at Genoa, in the commencement of the war in 1793, was ill calculated to conciliate the confidence and esteem of that republic.—That of Sir Richard Worsley, at Venice, was to the full as exceptionable.—Lord Harvey, recalled from Florence, because he had rendered himself obnoxious to the grand duke, was succeeded by a gentleman whose behaviour, soon after his arrival, was not likely to impress the Florentine court with any very favourable opinion of our national manners, or of the wisdom of the minister || who could have selected a person so ill adapted in every respect for the mission on which he was sent. Indeed little can be said in favour of our diplomacy in general;—where it has not been absolutely mischievous and disgraceful, it has been at least imprudent: perhaps it is owing as much to the indiscretion of the individuals we have sent to foreign courts, as to the imperious conduct of our own, that the entire continent of Europe is so thoroughly indisposed towards us. In stating these afflicting truths, I not only speak the language and sentiments of those who have felt and resented these imprudences, but of every English gentleman who has travelled on the continent, qualified to appreciate the talents and manners of our ministers at foreign courts. That our diplomacy can boast of gentlemen who combine with highly polished manners, great talents, and attainments—men of observation and of great discernment, who, faithful to the trust reposed in them, remember what is due to the court they reside at, and in executing the objects of their mission, conciliate the confidence and esteem of the governments to which they have been accredited, are truths which cannot be denied; but it is no less true, that gentlemen so happily formed, have not been so much in request as hungry towns, and candidates for public employment, who have no other qualifications than their affinity to the minister, or the parliamentary interest which compels him to trade with the patronage of the crown, and in some sort to betray his trust, by bartering his duty for his interest, and conferring distinctions and emoluments on men unworthy of both, in return for the vote necessary to preserve him in power.

|| Lord Gervill

may be the personal courage or enterprising disposition of his Swedish majesty, ministers must be fully aware, if their envoys at his court have faithfully discharged their duty, that his talents and means of annoying France have been very much over-rated;—but delusion has the singular quality of being nurtured by what ought to destroy it—conviction has no approach to it, and, obstinate in error, it continues deaf and blind to experience. This species of insanity has brought the possibility of our becoming ultimately a province of France very much within the chances—It may possibly conduct a French general to the throne of Sweden, or lead to the extinction of a monarchy not very prudently governed. Flattery changes its natural character of servility, and becomes atrocious when it is employed to act on the vanity or prejudices of mankind to their ruin. The king of Sweden has been compared to Gustavus Vasa, without the least resemblance in their fortunes, their character, or their genius. Ministers may squander subsidies upon this man as long as the credulity of Parliament keeps pace with their folly and absurdity;—but the benefits to be derived from his alliance, in the present state of the continent, will not be worth the value of a German kreutzer either to this country or to the rest of Europe. The safety of the king of Sweden can be found only in peace—and it would be far more valuable to him and to his subjects, than any money we can spare to their necessities, if we were to set him the example.

#### Appendix P.

Mr. Burke, in one of those publications which have injured the country in a far greater degree than they benefited his fortunes, tells us to look up in confidence to one of his benefactors, whom he calls, a "*vigorous and able young statesman*."—Seven years' experience of the skill and abilities of this "*rigorous and able young statesman*," would in times less tempestuous than the present, have enabled the world to pronounce on the judgment and veracity of his eulogist, if he had not before furnished it with sufficient evidence of his lamentable deficiency in the one, and of

his indecent contempt for the other.—If an understanding unquestionably good and which he has certainly taken great pains to cultivate, had been coupled with any thing like mind, if he could have soared beyond detail, and taking a comprehensive view of things, have looked futurity in the face, his pretensions to the character of a statesman, would have descended to posterity on far better authority than that of a man, whose opinions were at all times subservient to his interests, or his resentments. Baffled in all his measures, defeated in all his projects; Europe ruined and prostrate at the feet of her conqueror, where are we to look for the abilities of this "*rigorous and able young statesman*?"

In what instance has he proved his claim to the title he had appropriated to himself, before even flattery had conferred it, when a very boy \* has mocked his prowess—out-reached his cunning—and set his wisdom at defiance?—That this "*rigorous and able young statesman*" has talents cannot be denied, but that they are the talents of a statesman will not be admitted by any man, who recollects the condition of Europe in 1790, and who understands the true import of words.—If the word statesman has no greater extent of meaning than that of framing bills for parliament, with the technical accuracy of a special pleader; if it means nothing more than a facility of speech in public debate, mechanically acquired, with a knowledge of the forms and usages of both houses of parliament—the eulogium of Mr. Burke, may perhaps be well founded. But the abilities of this "*able and rigorous young statesman*" even in this case, resemble very much the morality of the late Lord Chesterfield; they are factitious; a kind of Birmingham ware, the gaudy exterior of silver without its intrinsic value. He moves in an atmosphere entirely his own, and cold enough to produce congelation at the Equator, he is offered to us an object of adoration, by a man who would have worshipped any golden calf.—Such is "*the vigorous and able young statesman*" we are to idolize, and if he could repair our fortunes as rapidly as he has destroyed them, our idolatry would be excusable. But his talents are not of that cast,—manufactured like those of the late Duke of Richmond, by dint of labour sufficient to have broken down any dray-horse in Chiswell-street, we see in every part of them the anvil and the hammer that produced them.—Application has supplied the place of genius, memory that of talents;—haughty and reserved, Precision and Formality define his wisdom;—In his estimation its only attributes.—With

\* Bonaparte was at school at the military academy in Paris, when this "*vigorous and able young statesman*" was old in office.

manners at variance with friendship and urbanity, and disdaining to condescend to esteem, he would exact homage from us as his right, and claim a submission to that, for which language has not yet discovered a nomenclature.—As little indebted to fortune as to nature, the chances have conspired with his ignorance and presumption to degrade us in the eyes of all Europe, and almost to disqualify us for resisting the power which his insolence and incapacity have created—yet with all these truths most woefully impressed upon our minds, irritated almost to madness by the calamities entailed on us by this new species of *vigour and ability*, in this “*able young statesman*,” insulted by his arrogance when in office, and doubly insulted by the means he employs to get into it again, he has the temerity to look forward to the direction of our affairs, as if we had become as lost to every honourable feeling, as he seems to be to our resentment, and to the odium which justice has happily affixed to his name in every quarter of the globe.—It seems to a certain description of people amongst us, that the government of the country is a kind of stake or thing to be tossed up for, as idle boys try their luck for gingerbread-nuts in the street, with this difference, that those who gamble for the former, cry heads, we win—tails, you lose.—If it is for parliament, the legal guardians of our invaluable constitution, to put an end to this amusement of pitch and toss, or George the Fourth will find a sceptre not worth holding, and the people, a country not worth living in.

### *Appendix Q.*

*Bonaparte, First Consul of the Republic, to his Majesty the King of Great Britain and of Ireland.*

Paris, 5th Nivose, 8th year of the Republic.

**CALLLED** by the wishes of the French nation to occupy the first magistracy of the Republic, I think it proper, on entering into office, to make a direct communication of it to your Majesty. “*The war which for eight years has ravaged the four quarters of the world—must it be eternal? Are there no means of coming to an understanding?*”

*How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and strong, beyond what their safety and independence require, sacrifice to ideas of vain greatness, the benefits of commerce, internal prosperity, and the happiness of families? How is it that they do not feel that peace is of the first necessity, as well as of the first glory\*? These sentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your majesty, who reigns over a free nation, and with the sole view of rendering it happy.—Your majesty will only see in this overture my sincere desire to contribute efficaciously, for the second time, to a general pacification by a step speedy, entirely of confidence, and disengaged from those forms, which, necessary perhaps to disguise the dependence of weak states, prove only in those which are strong, the mutual desire of deceiving each other. France and England, by the abuse of their strength, may still, for a long time, for the misfortune of all nations, retard the period of their being exhausted. But I will venture to say it, the fate of all civilized nations is attached to the termination of a war which involves the whole world.—Of your Majesty,*

(Signed) **BONAPARTE.**

*Answer.*

*Lord Grenville to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in France.*

Sir,

Downing-street, Jan. 4, 1800.

I HAVE received and laid before the king the two letters which you have transmitted to me, and his majesty seeing no reason to depart from those forms which have long been established in Europe, for transacting business with foreign states, has commanded me to return, in his name, the official answer which I send you herewith.

I have the honour to be, \*

(Signed) **GRENVILLE.**

*Official Note.*

The king has given *frequent proofs* † of his sincere desire for the re-establishment of secure and permanent tranquillity in Europe. He neither is, nor has been, engaged in any contest for a vain and false glory. He has had no other view than that of maintaining against all aggression, the rights of his subjects ‡. For these he has con-

\* If the advisers of the king had allowed his majesty to put questions, so congenial with his royal feelings, to his bosom, would they; nay could they, have been without effect, although they came from France?

† In what instance have these "*frequent proofs for the re-establishment of peace*" been given? are we to look for them in the refusal to treat for peace, when it was proposed in 1794? In the silence of Mr. Pitt to the overtures transmitted to him through me from Monsieur Barthelmy, by order of the convention?—In the present correspondence?

‡ At home, as well as abroad?



tended against an *unprovoked attack*; and for the same objects he is obliged to contend, nor can he hope that this necessity would be removed by entering, at the present moment, into negotiation with those whom a fresh revolution has so recently placed in the exercise of power in France. *Since no real advantage can arise from such negotiation to the great and desirable object of general peace, until it shall distinctly appear that those causes have ceased to operate which originally produced the war, and until it has since been protracted, and in more than one instance, renewed.*

The same system, to the prevalence of which France justly ascribes all her present miseries, is that which has also involved the rest of Europe in a long and destructive warfare, of a nature long since unknown to the practice of civilized nations. For the extension of this system, and for the extermination of all established governments, the resources of France have, from year to year, and in the midst of the most unparalleled distress, been lavished and exhausted. To this indiscriminate pit of destruction, the Netherlands, the United Provinces, the Swiss Cantons (his majesty's ancient friends and allies) have successively been sacrificed. Germany has been ravaged; Italy, though now rescued from its invaders, has been made the scene of unbounded rapine and anarchy. His majesty has himself been compelled to maintain an odious and burthensome contest for the independence and existence of his kingdoms. Nor have these calamities been confined to Europe alone, they have been extended to the most distant quarters of the world, and even to countries, so remote both in circumstance and interest from the present contest, that the very existence of such a war was perhaps unknown to those who found themselves suddenly involved in all its horrors. *While such a system continues to prevail, and while the blood and treasure of a numerous and powerful nation can be lavished in its support, a /urne has shown that no defence but that of open hostility can be availing.* The most solemn treaties have only prepared the way for fresh aggression, and it is to a determined resistance alone that is now due, whatever remains in Europe of the stability for property, for personal liberty, for social order, or for the free exercise of religion. For the security therefore of these essential objects, his majesty cannot place his reliance on the mere renewal of general professions of pacific dispositions. Such professions have been repeatedly held out by all those who have successively directed the resources of France to the destruction of Europe, and whom the present rulers have declared to have been all from the beginning, uniformly incapable of maintaining the relations of amity and peace. Greatly indeed will his majesty rejoice, whenever it shall appear that the danger to which his own dominions, and those of his allies, have been so long exposed, has really ceased.

\* This is true, but not in the sense his Lordship would intimate, for the causes that originally produced the war are to be looked for in England, not in France—we were the aggressors.

Whenever he shall be satisfied that the necessity of resistance is as an end, that after the experience of 40 many years of crimes and miseries, better principles have ultimately prevailed in France, and that all the projects of ambition, and all the restless schemes of despotism which endagered the very existence of civil society, have at length been finally relinquished. But the conviction of such a change, how valuable to his majesty's wishes, can result only from principle, and from the evidence of facts. The best and most plausible pledge of its reality and permanence, would be the restoration of the line of kings which for so many centuries maintained the French nation in prosperity, honour, and consideration and strength. Such an event would at once have removed, and will at any time remove all obstacles in the ways of negotiation or peace. It would confirm to France the unmolested enjoyment of its ancient rights, and it would give to all the other nations of Europe, in tranquillity and peace, that security which they are now compelled to seek by their arms. But despicable as such an event must be both to France and to the world, it is not to this mode exclusively that his majesty limits the possibility of secure and solid pacification. *His majesty makes no claim to prescribe to France what shall be the form of her government*, or in whose hands she shall vest the authority necessary for conducting the affairs of a great and powerful nation—his majesty only looks to the security of his own

¶ Have they been relinquished? and if not, to whom does the guilt of their having been prolonged attach, but to the advisers of his majesty?

¶ In an important note of pointing out to an independent nation with the help of European powers, the secret of conquest, whom she should choose for her sovereign, would derive no notice but to the marked indecency of it coming from the minister of a prince who derives his right to the crown from precisely the same source which advanced Bonaparte to the supreme magistracy in France. What would this country have said to Cardinal Mazarin if he had refused to treat with Cromwell until the royal line was restored?—What would Cromwell have said to a proposition so innocent and unjust?—More careful of the honour and interests of his country, than of his life, and on that account more worthy of a throne, than the man whom he had dismissed from it, he would have marched an army to Paris, and would then have asked pardon on his knees for the insult offered to the nation by purporting to interfere in its domestic arrangements—and if his Lordship has consulted his ordinary prudence, he would not have exposed his royal master to the event, though temperate resort, of the French consul, who, in self defence, remitted him a jesty of the principles on which he was admitted to the royal dignity in England. If Lord Grenville will refer to the 9th vol p 473 and 4, of our parliamentary history, he will find in what manner a British parliament resented in those days an indignity of a much slighter kind to their minister at the Hague, than what his Lordship has offered to the French nation in his answer to the short but expressive overture of their Chief Consul in 1800.

\* If there was any sincerity in this paragraph, the one immediately preceding it was superfluous, and certainly would never have been inserted in a diplomatic dispatch. The former paragraph of course proves the falsehood of the latter. His majesty "looks only to the security of his own dominions, and those of his allies."

*dominions, and those of his allies, and to the general safety of Europe.* Whenever he shall judge that such security can in any manner be attained, as resulting either from the internal situation of that country, from whose internal situation the danger has arisen, or from such other circumstances of whatever nature as may produce the same end, his majesty will eagerly embrace the opportunity to concert with his allies the means of immediate and general pacification.

Unhappily no such security hitherto exists, no sufficient evidence of the principles by which the new government will be directed, no reasonable ground by which to judge of its stability. In this situation it can only for the present remain for his majesty to pursue, in conjunction with other powers, those exertions of just and defensive war, which *his regard to the happiness of his subjects* will never permit him either to continue beyond the necessity in which they originated, or to terminate on any other grounds, than such as may best contribute to the *secure enjoyment of their tranquillity, their constitution, and their independence.*

Downing-street,

(Signed)

GRENVILLE.

Jan. 4, 1800.

To the Minister of Foreign Affairs,

&c. &c. &c. at Paris.

*From Monsieur Talleyrand to Lord Grenville.*

The official note, under date of the 14th Nivose, the eighth year, addressed by the minister of his Britannic majesty, having been laid before the first consul of the French republic, he observed with surprise that it rested upon an opinion which is not exact, respecting the origin and consequences of the present war—very far from its being France which provoked it, she had, it must be remembered, from the commencement of her revolution, solemnly proclaimed her love of peace, and her disinclination to conquests; her respect for the independence of all governments; and it is not to be doubted, that, occupied at that time entirely with her own internal affairs, she would have avoided taking part in those of Europe, and would have remained faithful to her declarations; but, from an opposite disposition, as soon as the French revolution had broken out, almost all Europe entered into a league for its destruction—the aggression was real, long time before it was public; internal resistance was excited, its opponents were favourably received, their extravagant declamations were supported, the French nation was insulted in the person of its agents; and England set particularly this example, by the dismissal of the minister accredited to her—finally, France was, in fact, attacked in her independence, in her honour, and in her safety, long time before the war was declared. Thus it is to the projects of

† Have the dominions of his majesty acquired any better security than they possessed in 1800? Have the dominions of his allies been better fenced? Look at Lord Castlereagh's plan of National Defence, for an answer to the first question, and to the map of Europe for an answer to the second.

*subjection, dissolution, and dismemberment\**, which were prepared against her, and the execution of which was several times attempted and pursued, that France has a right to impute the evils which she has suffered, and those which have afflicted Europe—such projects for a long time, without example, with respect to so powerful a nation, could not fail to bring on the most fatal consequences.

Assailed on all sides, the republic could not but extend universally the efforts of her defence†, and it is only for the maintenance of her own independence that she has made use of those means which she possessed, in her own strength, and the courage of her citizens. As long as she saw that her enemies obstinately refused to recognise her rights, she counted only upon the energy of her resistance; but as soon as they were obliged to abandon the hope of invasion, she sought for means of conciliation, and manifested pacific intentions, and if these have not always been efficacious, if, in the midst of the critical circumstances of her internal situation, which the revolution and the war have successively brought on, the former depositaries of the executive authority in France have not always shewn as much moderation as the nation itself has shewn courage, it must above all be imputed to the *fatal and persevering animosity, with which the resources of England have been lavished to accomplish the ruin of France.*

But if the wishes of his Britannic majesty (in conformity with his assurances) are in unison with those of the French republic, for the re-establishment of peace, why, instead of attempting the *apology of the war*, should not attention be rather paid to the means of terminating it? And what obstacle can prevent a mutual understanding, of which the utility is reciprocal and is felt, especially when the first consul of the French republic has personally given so many proofs of his eagerness to put an end to the calamities of war, and of his disposition to maintain the rigid observance of all treaties concluded. *The first consul of the French republic could not doubt, that his Britannic majesty recognized the right of nations to choose the form of their government, since it is from the exercise of this right that he holds his crown; but he has been unable to comprehend how to this fundamental principle, upon which rests the existence of political societies, the minister of his majesty could annex insinuations which tend to an interference in the internal affairs of the republic, and which are no less injurious to the French nation and to its government, than it would be to England and to his majesty, if a sort of invitation were held out in favour of that republican government, of which England adopted the forms in the middle of the last century, or an exhortation to recall to the throne that family whom their birth had placed there, and whom a revolution compelled to*

\* If Lord Grenville should hazard a denial of the justice of this charge, more facts can be produced in support of the accusation.

† If a war of self defence has been changed into a war of aggression, it is as a

*descend from it.* If at periods not far distant, when the constitutional system of the republic presented neither the strength nor the solidity which it contains at present, his Britannic majesty thought himself enabled to invite a negotiation and pacific conferences, how is it possible that he should not be eager to renew negotiations, to which the present and reciprocal situation of affairs promises a rapid progress: on every side the voice of nations and of humanity implores the conclusion of a war, marked already by such great calamities, and the prolongation of which threatens Europe with an universal convulsion and irremediable evils. It is, therefore, to put a stop to the course of these calamities, or in order that their terrible consequences may be reproached to those only who shall have provoked them, that the first consul of the French republic proposes to put an immediate end to hostilities, by agreeing to a suspension of arms, and naming plenipotentiaries on each side, who should repair to Dunkirk, or any other town as advantageously situated for the quickness of the respective communications, and who should apply themselves without any delay, to effect the re-establishment of peace and good understanding between the French republic and England. The first consul offers to give the passports which may be necessary for this purpose.

(Signed) CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND,  
Paris, the 24th Nivose, (14th January, 1800)  
eighth year of the French republic.

*From Lord Grenville to M. Talleyrand.*

The official note transmitted by the minister for foreign affairs in France, and received by the undersigned on the 17th instant, has been laid before the king—His majesty cannot forbear expressing the concern with which he observes in that note that the unprovoked aggressions of France, the sole cause and origin of the war, are systematically defended by her present rulers, under the same injurious pretences by which they were originally attempted to be disguised—his majesty will not enter into the refutation of allegations now universally exploded, and (in so far as they respect his majesty's conduct) not only in themselves utterly groundless, but contra-

The letter of the first consul announcing his elevation to the first dignity in France, and offering the olive branch, in a short but manly appeal to the wisdom and humanity of his majesty, produced a letter from Lord Grenville most tediously prolix, and which was, in fact, any thing but an answer. His lordship entered into a detail to which no invitation had been given, and which the occasion did not call for. The French official notes go directly to the point, because the object of France was direct—the official answers, as they were called, have recourse to tergiversation and recrimination, although nothing like accusation appeared in the first letter from the consul, and defence was of course unnecessary. The statesman who writes the interpreting correspondence, will readily perceive to whom the praise of superior talents is due; nor will the critic be at a loss to decide which is the more elegant and more logical composition, the official notes of M. Talleyrand or those of Lord Grenville—against such odds, no wonder our situation

dicted both by the internal evidence of the transactions to which they relate, and also by the express testimony (given at the time) of the government of France itself. With respect to the object of the note, his majesty can only refer to the answer which he has already given. He has explained, without reserve, the obstacles which in his judgment preclude, at the present moment, all hope of advantage from negotiation—all the inducements to treat, which are relied upon in the French official note, the personal dispositions which are said to prevail for the conclusion of peace, and for the future observance of treaties, the power of insuring the effect of those dispositions, *supposing them to exist*,\* and the solidity of the system newly established, after so rapid a succession of revolutions, all these are points which can be known only from that test to which his majesty has already referred them—the result of experience and the evidence of facts. With that sincerity and plainness which his anxiety for the re-establishment of peace indispensably required, *his majesty has pointed out to France the surest and speediest means for the attainment of that great object—but he has declared in terms equally explicit, and with the same sincerity, that he entertains no desire to prescribe to a foreign nation the form of its government, that he looks only to the security of his own dominions, and of Europe*,† and that whenever that essential object can in his judgment be, in any manner whatever, sufficiently provided for, he will eagerly concert with his allies the means of immediate and joint negotiation for the re-establishment of general tranquility.

\* Having been formally told, in an official dispatch, they exist, with what decency of manners can his lordship question their existence? his good manners seem to be on a par with his abilities as a statesman.—Well might Bonaparte observe, on reading the answer of his lordship, “*This lord believes himself to be a great clerk, but I will shew the world I can write as well as he*,” and it is worthy of remark, that on such occasions Bonaparte never broke his word.

† The First Consul deplores that two great nations should mistake their interests, and proposes a termination of those calamities which exhaust their strength and desolate Europe.—Instead of acceding to the offer, excuses are framed (in which truth is as little respected as decency) for prolonging the miseries of mankind. Charges, contradicted by facts upon record, are made; and finally France is required, *as a pledge of her sincerity*, to degrade the man who had felled her assailants, and rescued the world from anarchy, by strangling the monster Jacobinism. If France, vanquished by her opponents, had been compelled to sue for peace, the condition prescribed as the price of according it would even in that case have been an insult—but in the proud attitude in which victory had placed her—all her enemies humbled even to implore her clemency and pardon, or distressed for means to persevere in wanton aggression, such a proposition would only excite laughter, were it not for the seas of blood it has occasioned to flow, and for the vast and wide ruin that has resulted from it in every direction.—An attempt is made to qualify this abortive effort to dethrone a legitimate sovereign, by making his majesty immediately declare that “*he entertains no desire to prescribe to a foreign nation the form of its government, and that he looks only to the security of his own dominions, and of Europe*,” but if his majesty entertained no such wish, why propose that France should, *as a pledge of her sincerity*, restore the line of princes which had maintained the French nation for centuries in prosperity at home and consideration abroad? Neither the letter of the first consul, nor the introductory note of M<sup>rs</sup>. Talleyrand, called

To these declarations his majesty steadily adheres, and it is only on the grounds thus stated that his regard to the safety of his subjects will suffer him to renounce that system of *vigorous defence*, to which, under the favour of Providence, his kingdoms owe the security of the blessings which they now enjoy.

(Signed)

GRENVILLE.

Downing-street, January 20, 1800.

### Appendix R.

IT is the fashion to call Bonaparte an usurper, and if thrones were private property, the reproach might have some shew of justice. But thrones are trusts, and though we have wisely decreed this trust shall be hereditary in our reigning family, in order to avoid the sanguinary disorders of an elective monarchy, two of our kings, at no very distant period, were made to feel

for such a discussion, and surely if his majesty had been as sincere in not wishing to prescribe a form of government to France, as he is made to say by his foreign secretary, he would have abstained from even insinuating that the restoration of the banished family would be an acceptable measure to him. It was not very loyal, nor even very respectful, in Lord Grenville, to put a falsehood into the mouth of his sovereign one moment, and make him contradict it the next.—But when his lordship advises the king to tell the French nation, that their banished line of princes had preserved them for centuries in prosperity, what was it but proclaiming his ignorance of French history to all the world. His majesty is made to say, in 1800, that he looks only to the security of his own dominions, *and of Europe*, and for their security and defence he is obliged to persevere in the contest; if so, we cannot compliment him upon his foresight. The prolongation of the contest has defeated it's avowed objects; the securities for both have been terribly impaired since that period, and, without the gift of second sight, his majesty's advisers might have formed a tolerably just estimate of the probable result of a prolongation of hostilities, from the disastrous issue of the conflict at the time that peace was offered and rejected. Our fortunes, and those of Europe, are certainly not improved since Lord Grenville spurned all overtures for accommodation in 1800. Another eight years of such "*vigorous defence*," which his lordship has so *happily* illustrated during his administration, and so *modestly* held out as an example to his successors, will leave us nothing to defend. He seems to forget that forbearance has its limits; perhaps a repudiation of the correspondence I have published, may suggest to him the danger of counting as confidently on our patience, as he appears to have done on his capacity and resources, should the malice of our fortunes again place him in a situation to give us another specimen of his vigor and abilities.

1. Vide Additional Appendix (d).

that they only held the sceptre on reciprocal compact. The nonsense of *jure divino* having been long dismissed from our minds, with other rubbish unworthy of respect or retention, must not be revived in these days. Men should be governed by men worthy and capable of governing them. If Bonaparte is an usurper, what was the great Frederic of Prussia—what the ferocious and profligate Catherine, the assassin of the man whose throne she usurped, and to whom she owed obedience as a wife, and allegiance as a subject?—What was the late emperor Joseph but an usurper; when in conjunction with the courts of Berlin and St. Petersburg, he tore dominion from the sovereign of Poland, and dismissed him a vagrant from his kingdom?—What was the seizure of Hanover by the present monarch of Prussia, if he can be so called, but an usurpation? These gentlemen claim the right to pilfer, despoil, and dethrone each other with impunity; but if a stranger, more worthy of empire than themselves, appears as a competitor, above the horizon of the vulgar, a clamour is instantly raised against him, and he is loaded with coarse epithets, as if a war of words could silence the roar of cannon, or blunt the edge of his well-tempered sword. But admitting, for the sake of argument, that those in this country, who are fond of calling names, are justified in their abuse of Bonaparte, let me ask in my turn, what has been our conduct in India, and in what other light than as free-booters and usurpers are we considered by the princes whom we have plundered of their revenues, and despoiled of their dominions? What else is our sovereignty in Bengal, and the Carnatic, but usurpations, and usurpations stained with robbery and murder? Are massacres and usurpations virtues in Asia, and crimes in Europe?—Do not let us deceive ourselves;—guilt does not change its name, its complexion, or nature, on crossing the equator. —When we reprobate the vices of others, we should not forget our own.—What else but usurpations were the titles and possessions with which the House of Brandenburg has aggrandized itself from the days of Albert to the seizure of Hanover by the present degraded occupier of a dismantled and dishonoured throne?—On what other ground than usurpation stands the claim of Spain to South America? The personage who lately died at Rome, a pensioner on our bounty, and who to the last moments of his existence, believed himself to be *de jure* king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, considered his majesty as an usurper; and as the present king of Sardinia is in the proscribed line the next in succession to the throne of England, he would probably assert his right to govern us, if he was in a condition to enforce his pretensions—but will any man assert that this



pretended right to govern from *descent*, standing naked and alone without occupancy, and in opposition to our will, is superior, or ought to be put in competition with the one by which the illustrious House of Brunswick holds the British sceptre? It is not baptism alone that makes a Christian;—to talk of a king *de jure*, who is not a king *de facto*, is to my comprehension nonsense, or something worse—it is a contradiction in terms, or an abuse of words for which the person who advanced it in 1745, would have suffered death, if he had been caught in any part of the British dominions—he would have found that the choice of the people is a better right than a claim from descent;—he would have been taught that descent is nearer allied to courtesy than to right, and that courtesies are *conditional*. The last year of the rebellion was the last effort of the Stuarts to recover what they never deserved to possess. In that year the claim to rule us *de jure* may be said to have been incurred, not with funeral honours suited to its pretended birth, but as a felon and a suicide. With the page of British history open to their view, and above all, with a living instance in the person of our gracious sovereign, that the nation has a right to elect its chief magistrate; it is indecent, nay, it is a species of *leze majesty* to the king, who derives his claim to the crown from no other title than the will of the people, to brand the present ruler of France as an usurper. The right of Bonaparte to the throne he occupies, stands precisely upon the same firm ground, as that on which the prince of Orange, in 1688, claimed and obtained from the nations of Europe, a recognition of his title as king of England. Approving, as I do, of the principle which conducted the Stadtholder to the sovereignty of these realms, I must contend that the right of the French of the present day to chuse their sovereign is as legitimate and as incontrovertible, as the one exercised by our ancestors in the seventeenth century; and, with such a claim to a diadem, I would defend it against a world in arms. Those who profess an affection for his majesty, recognize in that profession the right of the people to punish a delinquent king, and to discard an incapable one. If they profess what they do not believe, their practice is at variance with their faith, their loyalty is treason; and if they have taken the oaths of allegiance, they add to the meanness of hypocrisy the guilt of perjury. France has thought proper to elevate Bonaparte to the sovereign authority, or at least to recognize his assumption of that authority by her acquiescence. In either case he stands on firm ground, and as our government has acknowledged \* him

the legitimate ruler of France, there is something so unmanly, so pitiful, so very base in allowing the mercenary journalists, French and English, in their pay, to daily vilify him, that I wonder better sentiments and better feelings have not come in aid of character, and induced them to discountenance slanders which are a reproach to them as ministers and as gentlemen.—That Bonaparte having attained to this sublime height, has proved a serious calamity to this country, cannot be disputed; but it is a calamity we have brought upon ourselves—our folly, blended with something worse, in not allowing the revolution to take its course in the commencement, uninterrupted at least by our interference, and our injudicious mode of opposing it, have alone produced the miseries of the present day. Assailed by all the states of Europe, first by underhand tricks, and afterwards by violence, she had no alternative—the integrity of her dominions was attacked as well as her right, to new-model her government, and her sole refuge was in war—she called forth her immense resources, and repelling the aggression with an enthusiasm that rendered her invincible; she triumphed in every direction, and conquered those who would have subdued her.—It is a vulgar proverb, but not the less true for being familiar, that “*those who play at bowls must expect rubbers.*”—France in her turn, assuming the character of an assailant, has taken ample vengeance of those who aimed a blow at her existence—with her vast means of annoyance, she displays a wisdom in the application and direction, unknown to her assailants, who having in their own conduct set an example of aggression and injustice, have little right to complain of the terrible effects which have resulted from their own lessons. To speak impartially, France at first did nothing more than act on the defensive—and strictly speaking, the usurpations with which we reproach her are only precautionary measures for her future security. Having experienced what she has to expect from the justice of her assailants, she is resolved to trust nothing to their generosity.

If Sardinia and the Italian states—if Holland and the Germanic empire, had been suffered to remain at the conclusion of this war, as they existed at the commencement, the influence of this country on those different states would have allowed France to re-

his devotion, has something very laughable in it, and especially when made by a power claiming clemency and peace at his hands. This will perhaps be best illustrated by the following anecdote: When Bonaparte was arranging the conditions of peace with Austria, at Campo Formio, the Austrian minister, in conformity with his instructions, and with a view to conciliate the friendship of France, began, “*La republique Francaise sera reconnue.*”—The French republic shall be acknowledged—“*effacez cela*” erases that passage, said Bonaparte, “*il est aussi clair que le soleil à midi.*”—It is as clear as the sun at noon day.

pose;—a vast theatre would have been open for the intrigues of the banished family; the drum would have been perpetually beating to arms, and war, not for grand or even legitimate objects, but from spite—to worry, tease, and harass what power could not destroy, would have kept the world in a constant state of anarchy and wretchedness. As the Court of London had shown an invincible rancour to the very principles of the revolution, and employed all means today the country waste with fire and sword, having had recourse to measures the most unjustifiable, to exterminate the men \* charged with the destiny of the revolution, France saw no other means of safety than in new modelling the whole of Europe, and fencing herself round by kings of her own nomination. She has been forced—she has been driven to the expedient of effectually crippling her adversaries, and we find fault with her for adopting it!—It is necessary that these facts should be stated, because it is full time that the nation should be apprised of the full extent of its danger, and of the circumstances which led to its present deplorable condition. If a system is to be continued, the fallacy of which has been fully demonstrated by the distressing experience of eighteen years—if a regular pro-

\* I should be sorry to impute to Mr. Pitt the guilt of having countenanced the atrocious project to assassinate Louis—but that such a project was conceived, and that those who had volunteered their services in the atrocious enterprise, had more than insinuated they were employed by the English government, are truths which cannot be denied. These imputations, which reflect a far greater dishonour on the nation than on the individuals concerned in so foul a conspiracy, derive considerable force from the unguarded expressions of gentlemen employed on foreign missions, some of whom were as little gifted with truthfulness, as they were with wisdom and good manners—Ministers seem to have been almost as unfortunate in their selections, as in their enterprises, put up with the imprudence and incapacity of the former may have contributed to the failure of the latter. When the grand and last resource failed, on which Mr. Pitt rested his fame, and in some sort the fortunes of his country, recourse was had to the old means which had never been totally abandoned during the war, of accomplishing a counter revolution. The destruction of the person then at the head of the French nation was supposed to be essential to the success of such a project; it was entered on to with great zeal by those known to be in the confidence of ministers—and who authorised those opinions, so injurious to their character, by the guilt with which they opened themselves to those who had undertaken, or pretended to undertake, the infamous task, the little detail of which observed in private money has been revealed by one of the conspirators—A statement of facts not very creditable to a gentleman high in office, whom he accuses of attempting to impose a jargon on him for French, which no one could understand but himself, and who he described as un petit homme grêle qui ne savoit pas vivre.—That a secretary of state should be ignorant of the French language is not very excusable, although it is very common—nor are very coarse manners, not very excusable for official employments—*c'est certainement bien assez d'être en France*—but why should not the small-pox have the same effect upon us as an easterly wind?

gressive march from bad to worse is to be obstinately pursued, in defiance of common sense—of common feeling and experience—it requires no prescience to pronounce, that the final result of such a combination of guilt and folly must be ruin. — It is to prevent a catastrophe so fatal to the sovereign and the kingdom, that parliament is seriously invoked to compare the facts stated in this work, with the transactions and events which have taken place from the moment we resolved to war with France in 1791, and then decide whether a manly and direct overture, in the true spirit of peace, is not the best proof that can be given of our sincerity to terminate the war, and whether such an overture is not in honest truth due from us?

## ADDITIONAL APPENDIX.

### *Appendix (a.)*

Sir,

London, March 6, 1796.

“ My letter to Mr. Duncombe\* is not a departure from the intention I had formed of not writing any more unless the occasion should be urgent—I say this, lest you should suppose that I am fickle. In March, 1794, I pledged myself to meet Mr. Burke, if he ever came forward again—He has come forward, and I have kept my word. If he was the person to whom you alluded, as having advised Mr. Pitt to violate his engagements to me, he will be more active than ever in his efforts to seduce the man whom I still respect and wish to serve, into an act of injustice. Mr. Burke knows nothing of my quantum meruit, and cannot, must not, be upon the inquest. The moderate income that I receive under the sign manual, and from the Treasury, is the reward of many years honourable, faithful, and acknowledged services, in which my private fortune was impaired to a greater amount than my pension would sell for at Garraway’s—Feeling my right to be indubitable, the former cannot be withdrawn, during my life, nor the other withheld but by an iniquitous perversion of power, against which I feel the most perfect security in the justice of the minister. The man there-

\* Late member for the county of York, and addressed to him on the subject of Mr. Burke’s letter to a noble lord in 1796.

fore that you say counselled Mr. Pitt to such a measure, wanted integrity, if he knew the conditions of the bond;—if he did not, he was impertinent. Allow me to repeat the assurances of esteem, with which I am, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,  
 —GEORGE ROSE, Esq. W. A. MILES.  
 &c. &c. &c.

### *Appendix (b.)*

#### *Etrange cause de la guerre de 1688.*

LA guerre de 1688, eut une étrange origine, dont l'anecdote, également certaine & curieuse, est si propre à caractériser le Roi et Louvois son ministre, qu'elle doit tenir place ici. Louvois, à la mort de Colbert, avoit eu la surintendance des bâtimens, le petit Trianon de porcelaine, fait autrefois pour Madame de Montespan, ennuyoit le Roi, qui par tout vouloit des palais, il s'amusoit fort à ses bâtimens, il avoit aussi le compas dans l'œil pour la justesse, les proportions, la symétrie; mais le goût n'y répondoit pas. Ce château ne faisoit que de sortir de dessous terre, lorsque le Roi s'aperçut d'un défaut à une croisée qui s'achevoit dans la longueur du rez de chaussée—Louvois, qui naturellement étoit brutal et de plus gâté, jusqu'à souffrir difficilement d'être repris par son maître, disputa fort et ferme et maintint que la croisée étoit bien—Le Roi tourna le dos, et alla se promener ailleurs dans le bâtiment—le lendemain il rencontra Le Notre, bon architecte, fameux par le goût des jardins, qu'il a commencé à introduire en France, et dont il a poussé la perfection à un haut point, lui ayant demandé s'il avoit été à Trianon, il répondit que non—le roi lui expliqua ce qui l'avoit choqué, et lui dit d'y aller—le lendemain, même question, même réponse; le jour d'après, autant—le roi vit bien qu'il n'osoit s'exposer à trouver qu'il étoit tort, ou à blâmer Louvois; il se fâcha, et il lui ordonna de se rendre le lendemain à Trianon, où il étoit et où il feroit venir Louvois aussi—il n'y eut plus moyen de reculer, le roi les vit le lendemain tous les deux à Trianon—il y fut d'abord question de la fenêtre—Louvois disputa; Le Notre ne disoit rien—le roi lui ordonna d'alligner de mesurer, et de dire après ce qu'il auroit trouvé, tandis qu'il y travailloit. Louvois, en fureur de cette vérification, regardoit tout haut, et soutenait, avec orgueil, que cette fenêtre étoit en tout pareille aux autres—quand tout-à-coup bien examiné, il demanda à Le Notre ce qui en étoit, et

Bibliothèque—le roi se mit en colère et ordonna à Le

Notre de parler net. Alors Le Notre avoua que le roi avoit raison, & dit ce qu'il y avoit trouvé de défectueux; il n'eut pas plutôt achevé, que le roi se tournant vers Louvois, lui dit qu'on ne pouvoit tenir à ses opiniâtretés; que sans sa remarque on auroit bâti tout de travers, & qu'il auroit fallu tout abattre, aussi tôt que le bâtiment auroit été achevé, en un mot il lui lava fortement la tête—Louvois outré de cette sortie, & de ce que courtesans, ouvriers, & valets en avoient été témoins, arrive chez lui furieux; il y trouva St. Fouange, Villeneuf, le Chevalier de Nogent, les deux Tilladets, quelques autres féaux intimes, qui furent bien alarmés de le voir en cet état—"C'en est fait," leur dit il, "je suis perdu auprès du roi de la façon dont il vient de me traiter pour une fenêtre. Je n'ai de ressources qu'en une guerre qui le détournera de ses bâtimens, & qui me rende nécessaire & périlleux il l'aura."—En effet, quelques mois après il tint parole & malgré le roi, & les autres Puissances, il la rendit générale—elle ruina la France au dedans, ne l'étendit pas au-dehors malgré la prospérité de ses armes, & produisit au contraire des événemens honteux.—Memoirs of the Duc St. Simon, 6th vol. page 252.

*Translation.*

THE war of 1688 had so circuitous an origin, and the anecdote respecting it gives so correct an idea of the character of Louis the XIVth, and of Louvois his minister, that it deserves to be recorded.

Little Trianon, formerly built for Madame de Montespan, displeased the king, who wished to have palaces every where. Building was his amusement; he was a correct judge of symmetry; but his taste was not equal to his judgment. The building in question was nearly completed, when the king discovered a defect in one of the windows which was nearly finished, on the ground floor. Louvois, who was naturally rough in his manners, and had been too much indulged to bear being reprimanded, even by his master, firmly opposed the king, and maintained the window to be straight; the king turned his back, and continued his walk to the palace. The next day he met Le Notre, an architect, celebrated for his taste in laying out gardens; the king asked if he had ever been at Trianon, he answered in the negative; the king related to him what had happened, and told him to go and examine the place; on the next day the same question, and the same answer; the day after the same again. The king plainly perceived that the architect did not dare find the minister in the wrong; his majesty was angry, commanded Le Notre to repair to Trianon, on the next day, where he and Louvois would

meet him.—The architect had no resource.—They all met at Trianon the next morning, and the affair of the window was instantly mentioned—Louvois supported his opinion—the architect said nothing.—The king commanded him to measure, and to state the truth.—While he was measuring, Louvois, furious at having his assertions put to the proof, scolded very loud, and still maintained that the window was exactly like the others.—When the windows had all been measured, Le Noire was desired to speak. He stammered, afraid to speak the truth. The king, in a passion, commanded him to speak out, and to speak plain. He then confessed his Majesty was in the right.—He had scarcely finished, when the king, turning to Louvois, told him, a man should never be obstinate in error; that, but for his majesty's seeing it, the building would have been finished with the defect he discovered, and the whole of it must have come down. In a word, he gave the minister a severe reprimand, and left him.—Louvois, indignant at this sally of the king's, in the presence of workmen, courtiers, and valets, returned in a violent passion to his house, where he found St. Fouange, Villeneuve, the Chevalier Nogent, the two Tilladets, and some others, his faithful adherents; who, alarmed at seeing him in this state, enquired what was the matter.—“It is all over with me,” said Louvois, “I am ruined for ever with the king, from the manner in which he has just treated me on account of a window, I have no resource but in a war; that alone will take off his attention: it is become necessary to my security, and by heaven he shall have it.” He kept his word, and in a few months, in spite of the king and foreign powers, he rendered the war general, which ruined France at home, without extending her dominions, notwithstanding the success of her arms, and produced events the most shameful.—Memoirs of the Duke de St. Simon, vol. 6th, page 233.

... Something like what Louvois did in the reign of Lewis the XIVth was done in this country in the reign of Queen Anne; and in our days we have seen his majesty, precipitated by evil counsellors into three wars. as it is the minister who advises the crown, it is in fact the minister, and not the sovereign, that exercises this prerogative, so liable to be abused, and when abused so dangerous to the interests, and to the rights of nations, and of individuals. Viewing this subject in this light, it's only really tangible shape, can't it be ever a question to any one past childhood, and not an idiot, that such a power should, in a nation pretending to wisdom, reside in any one individual? A member of the house of commons (if his speech was correctly given in the public prints) lately asserted that the prerogatives of the crown ought to be held as sacred as the rights of the people; and if he had qualified the assertion by a short parenthesis (*while useful*) its validity could not have been contested; but there is in fact no analogy between them, and where there is no equality there cannot in fair argument be any comparison—kings derive their prerogatives from the people—their titles, their crowns, their authority have no other source—a college of heralds can trace them no higher; but the people derive their rights from nature—their's is the true divine right—there is no other right divine; despotism may eclipse them for the moment, but cannot de-

## Appendix (c.)

It would be consonant with the justice, and magnanimity of this country, to enquire into the nature and extent of those complaints, which have drawn the reproach of disaffection on a very

troop them—they are immoveable fixtures, sacred in their origin—no less so in their uses, for royalty itself owes its birth to them—they are in their very essence invulnerable; to assail them is sacrilege, and the crime should be estimated and punished by the *rank* of the offender; but prerogatives have no such sanctity—no such imprescriptibility to plead—they are open to investigation, liable to be curtailed, modified, or abolished—their existence, casual as their birth, cannot count upon life beyond the moment—they perish sometimes with the individual on whom they are conferred. If they had been as sacred and as immortal as our rights, we should at this moment have been groaning under the despicable tyranny of the Stuarts, and not enjoying civil and ecclesiastical freedom under the milder dominion of George the Third. Prerogatives are as transitory as fashions—the latter, indeed, depend upon the caprice of taste, but the former must be regulated by circumstances. What are become of the prerogatives of Charles the First, which were no longer adapted to the understandings of men in the seventeenth century?—dead—they perished on the scaffold with their master, who mistook *prerogatives for rights*. What has been the fate of prerogatives at a later period, when worn out by age they were no longer conducive to the public good? Expelled the kingdom with James the Second. And with all these facts staring the Secretary at War in the face, he has had the indecency, or the ignorance, to tell us that the prerogatives of the crown are as sacred as the rights of the people! There were formerly academies in this town to teach grown gentlemen how to dance; seminaries of this kind seem necessary to teach grown gentlemen how to read, and, if possible, how to think. The Secretary at War is in parliament; he is also, I believe, a general officer—at least he is on the list of generals—so was Mr. Whitelocke; but there is a vast distinction between the name and the thing, as the latter gentleman has so clearly demonstrated in his own conduct—but if the baronet is not a better general than he is a legislator, Bonaparte has nothing to fear from his tactics. Ferrol, to be sure, yet lives in our memory, but even with all the *splendour of this gallant officer's achievements in Gallia*, I much doubt, considering the high and responsible situation he holds in the country, whether *even his professional talents* atone for his very gross and not very excuseable misconception of the principles of our government. These strictures are given upon the hypothesis that the newspapers have published a correct statement of the Secretary's speech; if their statement was erroneous, all that relates personally to the Secretary at War must be considered *comme non avenu*. Another gentleman held something like the same language on the same occasion, which was a motion for securing to the officers in the navy and army what, if they had pensions or sinecures, Lord Melville would call freeholds; and why a commission in the army, obtained perhaps by long servitude as well as by purchase, should be less a freehold than a treasury warrant, I cannot comprehend. The object of the proposed clause in the mutiny bill, suggested by Sir F. Burdett, was, I believe, to prevent officers in his majesty's service being deprived of their commissions, unless by the sentence of a court martial. In other words, to take from the crown the right of dismissing at pleasure an officer, without giving him an opportunity to prove his innocence—to justify his conduct—or even communicating to him his offence.—It is really a cynical kind of a scheme to hold perhaps the reward of fifty years service by the scratch of a pen.—Almost every possible offence that can be committed is described in the articles of war; and to these, officers as well as privates are amenable—yet a power, clearly in direct opposition to reason and justice, is sometimes exercised to dismiss officers without trying them by a court martial. This I hold to be unjust, and pessi-



considerable portion of the people of Ireland, which had they even been well founded, would not have been totally without excuse. The injured have a right to complain, and when the people of this country, have given themselves the trouble to look into the page of Irish history, they will be better able to judge of the justice of those complaints, and to pronounce on the decency of branding men as rebels, who have done nothing more than demand that protection, which the laws are bound to afford them, and without which, the laws themselves would have no claim to existence or respect. That the protection of these laws have been withheld in a variety of instances, and that decency as well as justice have been most atrociously violated, will be proved by the documents which follow these observations. The laws have happily resumed their authority, a milder administration has succeeded to the sanguinary rule of conduct adopted in 1797 and 1798, and enormities are no longer committed in the name of govern-

ment is bound to declare it illegal, by giving to the officers of the navy and the army the full benefit of the military laws, and declaring that henceforward no officer shall be deprived of his commission but by the sentence of a court martial.—As the practice stands at present, the crown has a power to send them to a tribunal, or to dismiss them at pleasure without any trial: this ought not to be.—If it is one of the prerogatives of the crown, it is a prerogative that ought never to have existed, because the fortunes and characters of men ought not to depend upon the pleasure of any individual; and as a proper tribunal is established in the country for the exclusive purpose of trying military men, no military man should be degraded and beggared but by the sentence of that tribunal.—It is a principle in our constitution, that no man shall be condemned but by the judgment of his peers, and it appears hard, indeed, and most tyrannically absurd, that those who are excluded the protection of our civil courts, should also be excluded the protection of courts instituted solely for themselves.

That it is even dangerous to the constitution to leave such a power in the crown, is evident from the unjustifiable use that was made of it in the commencement of the reign, by depriving the late generals Conway, A'Court, and Adams, of their respective regiments, for the vote they gave in the House of Commons against the legality of general warrants in 1763.—The legislator was punished in the soldiers.—These gentlemen were invulnerable every where to the despotism they opposed, but in their professional characters—the minister could not disarm them of their franchise, but he could of their commissions, and as far as it extended, he exerted it.—If officers of inferior rank, less affluent, and less connected, had exercised the right of free men in a free country, and with their colonies had remained, as every man ought to do, the tyr that then prevailed, and the attempt to declare general warrants have been turned aside on the world, without the world's knowing themselves; for what they were deprived of their commissions—without complaint, without any deposition, or rather robbery, of their property by imposition, into the world, without force, were they to exist?—and if charged with a family, how could they exist?—These are questions which come home to the soldier, and the soldier's family, and power is to be won, as well as maintained, so is for these reasons, amongst many others not less forcible and conclusive, that no officer ought to be dismissed from his Majesty's service, except by the sentence of a court martial, or by the criminal jurisdiction









